



Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

3375th Meeting

Thursday, 5 May 1994, 7.05 p.m.
New York

Provisional

President:	Mr. Gambari	(Nigeria)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Chen Jian
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Pakistan	Mr. Niaz
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bizimana
	Spain	Mr. Pedauye
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Wood
	United States of America	Mr. Grey

Agenda

The situation in Mozambique

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (S/1994/511)

The meeting was called to order at 7.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Mozambique

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (S/1994/511)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Mozambique, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Afonso (Mozambique) took a place at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Mozambique, document S/1994/511.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/538, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1994/419, which contains the text of a letter dated 12 April 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Mozambique to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

The first speaker is the representative of Mozambique, and I am delighted to call on him.

Mr. Afonso (Mozambique): My delegation is pleased to see you, Mr. President, at the helm of the Security Council during this month of historical significance for Africa in general and for the southern African region in particular. I have been privileged to work closely with you on numerous occasions, and I therefore have no doubt that your well-known academic and diplomatic qualifications and wide experience in domestic, African and international affairs will lead the Council's deliberations to a successful outcome. You can rest assured that my delegation will assist you in the discharge of your mandate.

I am aware of your imminent departure, in a few days, for our region - southern Africa - to witness the birth of a unified, united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. It is our firm belief that the progress made towards a political settlement to the long-lasting conflict in South Africa will greatly contribute to regional peace and stability and will encourage positive changes elsewhere on our continent.

I wish to commend your predecessor, Ambassador Colin Keating of New Zealand, for the excellent manner in which he performed his responsibilities so actively and effectively as President of the Security Council for the month of April. I would like to thank him very sincerely for the kind assistance he gave to me and my delegation during his tenure of office.

I cannot fail to reiterate my country's deepest respect for the Secretary-General of the United Nations, His Excellency Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his continued commitment to the maintenance and preservation of international peace and security and for his commitment to the peace process in Mozambique.

My delegation has carefully reviewed the Secretary-General's informative progress report on the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ), contained in document S/1994/511. As we approach the target date, our attention is now focused on what remains to be done in order to eliminate all obstacles to the full implementation of the provisions of the General Peace Agreement. We are pleased to note that important progress has been made in the right direction. In looking back at where we stood a few months ago, we find genuine reasons for hope.

The entire Mozambican population warmly welcomed the decision by President Chissano establishing 27 and 28 October 1994 as the dates for the multi-party

general elections. This announcement, I believe, constitutes one of the most important achievements of the peace process. It was preceded by the inauguration of and subsequent progress made by the National Elections Commission, which enabled the President to make this historic announcement. Similarly, other important steps have also taken place since the last meeting of the Council on this question two months ago. These include, *inter alia*, the commencement of demobilization of all forces, the swearing into office of the Joint High Command, the beginning of the training programme for the Mozambican Defence Force (FADM), and the appointment of judges for the Electoral Tribunal, both by our Supreme Court and by the Secretary-General.

However, major issues related to the implementation of the General Peace Agreement are still outstanding and will require our utmost attention during the months ahead. The cantonment of forces has yet to be completed. In this regard, it is to be noted that as of 28 April 1994 out of a total of 64,118 Government soldiers 34,304 have already reported to the assembly areas. If one adds to this number the 14,480 troops to be demobilized *in situ*, one will note that only 14,334 Government soldiers have yet to report to the assembly areas. There is a strong determination on the part of the Government to bring the cantonment process to its full conclusion as soon as possible.

During the period under review, out of 19,140 RENAMO combatants to be sent to the assembly areas 15,709 have already reported there. In addition to those figures, RENAMO has yet to provide the necessary figure on the number of its combatants to be demobilized *in situ*, which is estimated at about 4,000. We are still awaiting RENAMO's confirmation of this figure. Simple arithmetic shows that about 3,433 RENAMO combatants have yet to report to the assembly areas.

Regarding demobilization, it should be noted that since the beginning of this process, the Government has enjoyed a substantial edge in the matter. As of 28 April 1994 the Government had demobilized 13,745 soldiers, while RENAMO had demobilized only 561 combatants, or about 3 per cent of those to be demobilized.

I turn now to the issue of the formation of the new Mozambican Defence Force. Despite the progress made so far in this regard, it is obvious - six months before the holding of the general elections - that we are still far from overcoming the results of systematic delays and achieving the troop strength provided for under the General Peace Agreement.

This is an issue of critical importance in the creation of the appropriate environment leading to the holding of the general elections. Considering that even the 30,000 troops agreed upon in Rome are insufficient to perform fully their responsibilities in a country as big as Mozambique, in the presently difficult geopolitical context, we clearly come to the conclusion that any further reduction of this figure may seriously affect the ability of our country to defend itself.

In this connection, I wish to underline that my Government, more than anybody, fully understands the need for the successful completion of the mandate of ONUMOZ and will do all in its power to ensure that this goal is attained. But, more than the success of ONUMOZ, what is at stake is peace, national reconciliation and democracy for our country and our people. For these reasons, we believe that it is necessary to concentrate our efforts on the creation of adequate conditions for the full implementation of the General Peace Agreement.

In this context, my Government is in favour of the principle of fixing a firm deadline for the cantonment and demobilization of forces, taking into account the objective realities in the field and the calendar for the formation of the Mozambican Defence Force and the electoral campaign. This requires that both the Government and RENAMO, together with ONUMOZ, work closely to achieve consensus on these critical issues.

My Government very much welcomes the Council's call upon the parties - in the draft resolution - to respect fully their obligations under the Rome agreement and to allow unimpeded access to the country as a whole, in order to ensure free political and economic activity to all political parties. As a matter of fact, this call applies only to RENAMO and to nobody else, and it has been made increasingly by many political parties and members of the international community in Mozambique. We hope that RENAMO will heed this appeal. The nomination of RENAMO officials on 1 March as advisers to the provincial governors was intended precisely to facilitate the solution of this problem. As the Secretary-General's report underlines, this arrangement is one of the key steps in implementing administrative and territorial integration.

We therefore regret that despite the appointment of RENAMO officials to work as advisers to the 10 provincial governors, six months before the holding of the general elections and less than a month from the

beginning of voter registration, the issue of unhindered access to the whole territory of Mozambique has not yet been settled.

In addition, my Government is particularly disturbed by the growing attempts to raise new issues, extraneous to the commitments under the General Peace Agreement. This is, as I have said, disturbing, to say the least, especially when it comes from RENAMO, a signatory to the Rome agreement which, as we all remember, took two years of protracted negotiations.

We strongly believe that, as we come closer to the election date, we should strongly discourage the raising of extraneous issues which could ultimately undermine the full implementation of the General Peace Agreement and therefore lead to unforeseen consequences. It is my Government's assumption that RENAMO is fully aware of the kind of agreement it signed in Rome, its content and its final objective.

My Government would like to see the Council take a fresh look at these issues and adopt the necessary, adequate measures to galvanize and contribute to the full implementation of the Rome agreement by all parties. As our Secretary-General underlines in his report, despite all the challenging tasks ahead, the major political conditions for the timely completion of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique are in place. All that is necessary is to assist and encourage the parties to translate their political will into practical steps. On our part, we are prepared to proceed along this path.

The President: I thank the representative of Mozambique for his very generous words addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): At the outset, I wish to congratulate you most warmly, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. Your task will not be simple at a time when this Council has an extremely busy schedule, with a number of complex issues to be considered. We are confident, none

the less, that your proven diplomatic skills and outstanding qualities of leadership will guide us successfully throughout our deliberations. Please count on the unrestricted support of our delegation.

I should also like to take this opportunity to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Colin Keating of New Zealand, for the high quality of his work as President of the Council during last month's deliberations in equally trying circumstances.

I listened with great interest and attention to the statement that has just been made by the Permanent Representative of Mozambique, Ambassador Pedro Comissario Afonso, in which he detailed the achievements and the remaining difficulties, and also made some recommendations regarding the peace process in Mozambique. I was interested in his comments regarding the historic events now taking place in South Africa and about the beneficial contribution those events are likely to make to the stability of other parts of southern Africa.

I would like to express gratitude to the Secretary-General for his very useful and informative report on the current situation in Mozambique, contained in document S/1994/511. Such a report confirms our basic perception that the overall situation in Mozambique is evolving encouragingly. The Secretary-General points out a number of recent positive developments in the quest for peace since the adoption of resolution 898 (1994) last February. Among the positive results of the ongoing peace process, I should like to mention in particular the announcement by President Joaquim Chissano that general elections will take place on 27 and 28 October this year; the inauguration of the National Elections Commission; and the establishment of its provincial offices.

At the same time, it is worth recalling that the assembly and the mobilization of troops are under way, as are the undertakings for the formation of the new Mozambican Defence Force. All these facts reveal that there is tangible and timely progress towards the implementation of the General Peace Agreement between the Mozambican parties. Undoubtedly they all contribute to the successful implementation of the Rome accord and pave the way for a sustainable and lasting peace for a country to which Brazil is attached through ancestral, cultural and historical links.

My Government would like to pay a special tribute to President Joaquim Chissano for his high political profile during the entire peace process. President Chissano's statesmanship has made possible not only the signing of the Rome accord but also its steady implementation. He has displayed the type of leadership and political wisdom capable of bringing in the other party in Mozambique and of opening a new era of peace and stability in a country which has been ravaged by war for so long. We trust that Mr. Dhlakama and RENAMO, the other party, will show the same political will and good faith in meeting the obligations to which they are committed under the General Peace Agreement.

The peace process in Mozambique is at a crucial stage, and important elements of the Rome accord remain to be fully implemented. The support of the international community as a whole and the role of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) bringing the peace process forward cannot be over-emphasized.

The role of ONUMOZ has been vital in the political and military areas, which are intrinsically interwoven. Since the adoption of resolution 898 (1994), my delegation has been concerned over the possibility of the military component of ONUMOZ being curtailed, thus jeopardizing a peace process which, by all accounts, is very close to becoming a success story. The mere description of the operational activities carried out by the United Nations forces throughout Mozambique reveals their importance for the peace process. They range from the maintenance of security in the corridors, along highways and main roads, in airports and regional depots for weapons collected from both parties to the security of logistical installations.

We fully share the Secretary-General's assessment that the drawdown in the infantry component is a cause for concern. The delegation of Brazil continues to hold the view that the reduction of that component of ONUMOZ is premature, as the demobilization of Mozambican troops is still in progress and the new Mozambican Defence Force is not yet fully operational. We have yet to be persuaded of the advisability of intended marginal savings as compared to the broader, and by far more important, objective of a successful peace settlement in Mozambique.

The wording of resolution 898 (1994) is very clear in establishing that no reduction in the force total of ONUMOZ will be undertaken if this prevents its mandate from being effectively discharged. It is clear from this comment that my delegation would have preferred a course of action different from the one envisaged in the present

draft resolution. We will, none the less, vote in favour of the draft resolution for two basic reasons: on the one hand, because of our great interest in and commitment to the evolution of the political process in the sister country of Mozambique and, on the other, because this draft resolution renews the commitment of the international community to help Mozambique in its quest for peace and internal political stability.

The President: I thank the representative of Brazil for the very kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Olhaye (Djibouti): My delegation would like to take this opportunity to welcome you warmly, Sir, and congratulate you wholeheartedly on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. We are certain that with your considerable experience and your rare and proven skills you will provide the leadership the Council needs during this important period.

We should also like to express our appreciation for the very capable manner in which your predecessor as President, Ambassador Colin Keating of New Zealand, guided the Council during a very strenuous month. His calming presence and imperturbability served us well indeed.

Although a number of procedural matters remain to be ironed out and some general agreements need to be transformed into concrete measures, it is encouraging to note the current evidence of progress in the Secretary-General's excellent report on Mozambique. Cantonment of troops from both sides has taken place, the surrender and storage of weapons is proceeding, demobilization is under way and the creation of the new Mozambican Armed Force was inaugurated in March.

Bringing the new army up to prescribed manpower levels seems to be lagging well behind, which could have an impact on national security in the future. The problem appears to lie in the Government's financial resources, which may not be sufficient to offer a rewarding career choice to potential recruits. This problem has held up demobilization and may mean that projected Mozambican Defence Force and demobilization targets will not be met as required.

Though these contingencies could have served as a pretext to delay the peace process and the elections, it is most encouraging to see that this has not been the case. The Government has officially announced the forthcoming election dates of 27 and 28 October 1994

and, along with RENAMO, has agreed that these dates will hold despite any delay in meeting the Mozambican Defence Force size requirements. The fact that there have been no military activities that posed a serious threat to the cease-fire or the peace process as a whole underscores the apparent spirit of the two parties and their resolve to complete the process of national unity under a new Government.

It is essential, of course, that Mozambique restart and intensify its efforts at economic growth, which has been considerably retarded by the past hostilities. Mine clearance has presented a formidable obstacle to this process, particularly in the production of food, and my delegation is pleased to note the Secretary-General's continuing emphasis on this area. Unfortunately, the impact of cyclone "Nadia", which struck on 24 March, seems to have had widespread destructive effects on infrastructure and total crop production and may lead to significant food shortages in many areas, as the outlook for the coming harvest is only fair. Combined with the mine problem, this is another critical reason for Mozambique to move with all deliberate speed to implement the Peace Agreement, hold the elections and install a Government of national unity. Then economic growth and development can move forward in earnest.

In the area of humanitarian assistance, my delegation is pleased to see that the international community has responded to the Trust Fund set up to assist Mozambique in its reintegration and demobilization programmes, mine clearance and vocational training. The Secretary-General has also established a special trust fund for assistance to register political parties to enable them to carry out electoral activities; this also merits support.

Finally, my delegation notes with appreciation the Secretary-General's efforts to contain the costs of ONUMOZ while refocusing its mandate, activities and manpower. The introduction of the Civilian Police Component (CIVPOL) will mesh, to the extent possible, with the reduction of military units and other support staff to hold costs at prescribed levels; but, at the same time, the goals of monitoring, observation training and leadership will not be allowed to suffer.

There are many to praise, it seems, in the Mozambique effort, from ONUMOZ members to United Nations agencies, non-governmental organizations and the Special Representative. My delegation will therefore support the draft resolution before us.

The President: I thank the representative of Djibouti for the kind words he addressed to me.

I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/538.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 916 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Mérimée (France) (*interpretation from French*): The French delegation, Sir, is pleased to see you presiding over the Security Council; we assure you of our full cooperation. We thank your predecessor, Ambassador Keating, for his excellent work last month, when he presided over the Council at a difficult time.

My delegation welcomes the progress achieved by the parties with a view to the full implementation of the General Peace Agreement concluded between the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO. A number of stages in the process have been completed, which suggests that the original timetable for elections will be met.

On 11 April President Chissano announced that the elections would take place on 27 and 28 October 1994. The National Elections Commission and its provincial offices have been established. In principle, voter registration should begin in about 20 days. With a view to this result, the parties have continued to display responsibility and restraint. Since the signature of the Rome accord, the cease-fire has been respected. More recently, the demobilization of forces and the transfer of weapons have begun.

To be sure, disturbing delays have been noted, for the most part concerning implementation of the process. It is to be hoped that, the assembly areas having been

created as contemplated, the two parties will abide by the timetable and complete the demobilization, which is central to the implementation of the peace agreements.

All this shows that the parties are determined to succeed. In this connection, my delegation commends the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, who has succeeded in convincing all concerned that the only option is a peaceful political outcome.

It is desirable that the Council should regularly consider the situation in Mozambique, especially with respect to areas in which we have noted delays. For its part, my delegation will spare no effort to ensure that, when they go to the polls very soon, Mozambicans will be able to endorse the reconstruction and democratic development of their country.

The President: I thank the representative of France for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Grey (United States of America): We welcome you, Sir, to your new duties as Council President, and we know that you will steer the Council this month with style, wit and determination. We also recognize and applaud the skilful, innovative performance of Ambassador Keating as last month's President.

The United States welcomes the progress of the Mozambican peace process laid out in the Secretary-General's report of 28 April. We are particularly pleased that elections have been set for 27 and 28 October. The United States Government strongly believes that any further delay would be not only unacceptable to the international community, but seriously damaging to Mozambique's own interests as well. Elections are essential to move forward national reconciliation and economic reconstruction.

The Secretary-General's report makes it clear, however, that much more remains to be done between now and the October elections. A way must be found to move the stalled demobilization process to a rapid conclusion. We believe it would be wise for the gates of the assembly areas to be closed to new arrivals on 1 June in order to make it more likely that demobilization will be completed by 15 July. We expect both sides to cooperate with the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) in verifying the number of troops remaining to be processed both at the assembly areas and at the non-assembly sites, and to do everything possible to hasten their demobilization.

Also of concern are the difficulties being experienced with formation of the new army. Recruitment has been slow, and it is apparent that the 30,000-man force envisioned by the Rome accord will not be trained and operational by the time of the elections. This development should not delay the holding of elections. To avoid holding prospective new soldiers in camps with little to occupy them until the additional training programmes required for them are developed, we would urge that recruitment for the new army be suspended during the electoral period. Moreover, since underdevelopment and a stagnant economy are the real threat to Mozambique's security, we firmly believe that careful consideration should be given to creating a smaller new national army.

Not all the obstacles to progress are being encountered on the military side of the peace process. It is equally important to overcome the many administrative and logistical barriers to voter registration and the electoral campaign. For this reason, the United States joined other Council members in urging the Government and RENAMO to support fully the work of the National Elections Commission and to ensure that all parts of the country are open to electoral activity. We are also concerned about the apparent lack of cooperation received from Mozambican police authorities by ONUMOZ civilian police observers. The United Nations police component has an essential role to play in assisting the Mozambican police to establish the conditions for free and fair elections. Their deployment must be facilitated in every way possible.

Notwithstanding the problems ahead, the Secretary-General has expressed his belief that conditions are in place for the timely completion of the ONUMOZ mission and has indicated that he will submit in July a final timetable for its termination. In addition, we look forward to receiving the revised budget estimates for ONUMOZ, which the Secretary-General has indicated will remain within currently authorized commitment levels, and to the timely implementation of his plans for a drawdown of unneeded military personnel.

By extending the ONUMOZ mandate until 15 November, the Security Council has signalled its confidence that the successful culmination of the peace process is in sight. It remains the task of the Mozambicans to determine finally whether their country will this year become another example of hope and national reconciliation in southern Africa.

The President: I thank the representative of the United States for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Wood (United Kingdom): Let me begin, Sir, by offering you the good wishes of the United Kingdom delegation upon your assumption of the office of President of the Council. My delegation also expresses its admiration to Ambassador Colin Keating of New Zealand for the excellent manner in which he conducted the affairs of the Council in the month of April.

My delegation welcomes the report of the Secretary-General, in which he records the progress made in the implementation of the General Peace Agreement for Mozambique since the adoption of resolution 898 (1994). We were particularly pleased by the announcement by President Chissano on 11 April that elections will take place on 27 and 28 October this year. This is a major step forward. It is essential to stick to that deadline.

The next few weeks are crucial for the successful implementation of the peace process. The parties need now to redouble their efforts to meet the electoral timetable. Further delay is in no one's interest. For Mozambique the elections and the successful completion of the peace settlement represent a new beginning. For the international community, sticking to the timetable is crucial.

We remain extremely concerned about the slowness of progress towards implementing some key aspects of the Agreement. The assembly of forces is behind schedule. It really needs to be completed by 1 June, as set out in the resolution we have just adopted. ONUMOZ has still not been given accurate information on the number of troops remaining to be assembled, nor has it been allowed access to military bases to verify the presence of military equipment. It is essential that this is now done. Likewise, progress in demobilization is still lagging. Both parties, and especially RENAMO, should commit themselves fully to completing demobilization by 15 July. We consider this the key to successful implementation of the peace process.

My Government is also concerned about the slow pace of building up the new Mozambican Defence Force. We hope the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO will now move speedily to identify the soldiers required to form the Defence Force. Regular pay must be provided for them. The training of the new army must be accelerated. We warmly welcome the offer by Zimbabwe to provide assistance in the training of infantry battalions and hope that this offer will be taken up quickly.

We recognize that another crucial step along the road to the successful completion of the electoral process is the transformation of RENAMO into a political party. We support the appeal in the resolution for the international community to contribute to the Trust Fund for RENAMO in terms of financial assistance for the implementation of the General Peace Agreement. My Government has just contributed £500,000 to this Fund. We also support the appeal for contributions to the special trust fund for assistance to the registered political parties.

We believe that the elections in Mozambique can take place on schedule if the parties are determined to achieve this. We exhort them to summon the political will that is needed. The international community for its part will do all it can to help and will accept no second-best outcome.

The President: I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for his kind words.

Mr. Kovanda (Czech Republic): My delegation would first wish to congratulate you, Mr. President, on assuming office. You have successfully steered several other bodies of these United Nations, during which time you have amply demonstrated your leadership abilities - abilities which include your much-appreciated sense of humour.

Allow me too to thank my good friend Ambassador Colin Keating, who last month dealt with several vexing, important and difficult questions with enthusiasm and with great dedication.

Different countries of the cone of Africa south of the Equator are facing an exceptionally broad array of political circumstances at this moment. On the one end of the spectrum, there is the hell of Rwanda. My delegation is appalled by the situation in that country and has been shocked by the fact that neither the Security Council nor the Secretariat has so far managed to describe the massacres in Rwanda by the only word that fits them - namely, genocide.

On the other end of the spectrum, there are the heartening developments in the Republic of South Africa. Despite all their flaws, we feel that the recent elections, which some of our own officials observed, will be certified as having been free and fair. We are encouraged that the level of pre-election violence,

however tragic, was manageable, and we congratulate the new leadership of the country and wish it well.

Somewhere between these two poles are Angola and Mozambique. The situation in Angola continues to be unclear. Elections were held, but one party refused to abide by their outcome, and fighting in the country resumed. Protracted negotiations between the antagonists are continuing in Lusaka. With protracted negotiations, the fighting has been protracted as well.

There is one lesson we have learned from developments in Angola - namely, it improves the chances of an orderly transition if the armed antagonists are demobilized prior to elections. This lesson is being applied in Mozambique.

Some progress has been made since we discussed the situation in that country last time. Still, we are troubled by continuing signs of laxity in meeting the pre-election commitments of the parties. Demobilization started only in March, rather than in January, and nothing can be done about that now. One would expect, though, that in view of its late start demobilization would progress at an appropriately accelerated pace. Instead, it has recently slowed down. Assembly of the remaining troops is at a near standstill. Delays in the disbanding of over 150,000 militia and paramilitary forces are worrisome. There are problems with verifying military equipment at various installations. Both sides are in control of certain military bases, which they are keeping off-limits to the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ).

The creation of the new Mozambican Defence Force is also continuing more slowly than anticipated. Its creation is critical not only as a symbol of a new country but also practically, for example in combating the alarming rise in banditry and in protecting the transport corridors which are essential for Mozambique as well as for neighbouring land-locked countries.

On the other hand, there is a political side to developments in Mozambique. In this context it is particularly important that an election date has been set for 27 and 28 October. This gives us a firm point to aim for. The speed of military and organizational developments preceding the elections has to be geared towards meeting that date, and the expressed determination of the parties to accelerate the implementation of the *Accordos da Paz* creates a helpful milieu for the elections to be successful.

Indeed, leaders of both sides have recently met and agreed that the Government would accelerate the assembly of its troops and that RENAMO would accelerate the pace of its own demobilization. All of this is encouraging.

The overall question perhaps is: Is the glass half full or half empty? My delegation thinks it prudent to watch for deeds rather than words, and looking at deeds - that is to say, at the situation in the field - we fear that the glass is still only half empty. We will be carefully watching the speed with which more content dribbles into it.

The Secretary-General's thorough and well-balanced report also points out the practical difficulties that the National Election Commission might face. With the experience of South Africa behind us, we point out the importance of voter education, the pitfalls in voter registration and the need to ensure voting opportunities even in the most remote parts of the country.

The continuing role of the United Nations in assisting Mozambique's passage from virtual chaos to elections is unmistakable. It is very encouraging to see that the end of this passage is in sight. In the last couple of years, the United Nations has launched a dozen or so peace-keeping operations. Successfully closing down an important operation, which our resolution foreshadows for ONUMOZ, will be an important marker not only for Mozambique but for the Security Council and the United Nations system as well.

The Czech Republic is one of the 19 countries whose officers are serving as military observers with ONUMOZ, one of the total of 30 countries that provide ONUMOZ with personnel. We are proud to be able to make our modest contribution to the peace process in that country, and I pay a tribute here to the entire United Nations operation, including troops, military observers, civilian police and, last but certainly not least, the United Nations humanitarian assistance programme.

The President: I thank the representative of the Czech Republic for his especially kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Chen Jian (China) (interpretation from Chinese): First of all, Sir, I wish to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I am confident that with your rich diplomatic experience and talents you will surely

provide excellent guidance to the work of the Council for this month.

I should also like to take this opportunity to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Colin Keating of New Zealand, for his outstanding contribution to the successful conclusion of the work of the Council last month.

The Chinese delegation is pleased to note that with the joint efforts of the United Nations and the two parties of Mozambique the peace process in that country has witnessed important progress in many fields. It has been announced by President Chissano that elections will take place on 27 and 28 October 1994. This is undoubtedly an important step towards the realization of peace in Mozambique and is an encouraging development.

However, we have also noted that there still exist some difficulties in implementing the General Peace Agreement, difficulties which remain to be resolved.

The peace process in Mozambique is now at a crucial juncture and there is not much time left before the elections scheduled for October. Considering that ONUMOZ is playing an important role in accelerating the peace process in Mozambique, the Chinese delegation supports the recommendation of the Secretary-General to extend the mandate of ONUMOZ, and voted in favour of the resolution just adopted.

The experience of ONUMOZ has proved that as long as the two parties to the conflict are sincere about resolving their problems through negotiations and unswervingly implement the agreements reached by the parties, it is highly possible for them, with the help of the international community, to end yesterday's suffering and open up a new vista.

It is on the same basis that United Nations peace-keeping operations will achieve success. We sincerely hope that with the joint efforts of the parties ONUMOZ can become another success story in United Nations peace-keeping operations. Mozambique needs peace and stability. Africa, too, needs peace and stability. Only under conditions of peace and stability can economic development and social progress be achieved and people live in happiness and prosperity.

We therefore urge the two parties of Mozambique to seize the opportunity before them by adopting practical and effective measures and by cooperating fully with ONUMOZ in the implementation of the General Peace

Agreement and the relevant Security Council resolutions. This will ensure that the elections are held as scheduled, thus creating the conditions for the early realization of national reconciliation and the achievement of the peace and stability that have been cherished for so long.

The President: I thank the representative of China for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Pedayue (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): Allow me first of all to congratulate you, Sir, on the skilful way in which you are steering the work of the Council, thus demonstrating your experience and your outstanding professional abilities. You may be assured of the assistance and cooperation of the Spanish delegation.

I wish also to express my delegation's appreciation and thanks to Ambassador Colin Keating of New Zealand for the very able and effective way in which he presided over our work in April.

The Security Council has just unanimously adopted resolution 916 (1994), which renews the mandate of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) until 15 November 1994. My delegation welcomes this important decision, which indicates the course to be followed towards the holding of free and fair elections in Mozambique.

The announcement made by the President of Mozambique on 11 April 1994 that general elections would be held on 27 and 28 October this year was greeted by the international community with satisfaction and hope. The setting of these historic dates is a tangible demonstration of the firm resolve to comply with the revised timetable for the full implementation of the General Peace Agreement, thus bringing to culmination a peace process which will enable the people of Mozambique to decide on and define its own future.

The Secretary-General, in his report of 28 April 1994, refers to certain delays relating to the assembly and demobilization of troops and to the formation of the new Mozambican Defence Force. These are matters of concern to the Council and are properly reflected in the resolution we have just adopted. My delegation trusts that the concerted political will of President Chissano and Mr. Dhlakama, as demonstrated at the meeting of 8 April 1994 at which the two agreed that the Government would expedite the assembly of its troops and that RENAMO would accelerate the pace of

its demobilization, will bear fruit and have a positive effect in the field.

In order to overcome these delays, the resolution we have adopted urges the parties to meet the targets of 1 June 1994 for the completion of the assembly of forces and 15 July 1994 for the completion of demobilization. The parties likewise must ensure that ONUMOZ is provided with accurate information on the exact number of troops which remain to be assembled and must allow ONUMOZ access to all their military bases to check military equipment as well as to verify the number of combatants still outside the assembly areas.

We have taken careful note of and welcomed the statement just made by the Permanent Representative of Mozambique, Ambassador Comissario Afonso, who emphasized that his Government is fully aware of the need to implement fully the mandate of ONUMOZ and that the Government will do everything in its power to achieve that objective.

We believe that it is necessary to speed up that process so that the pre-electoral period can begin in Mozambique, a period in which the National Elections Commission will play a fundamental role and in which the Civilian Police Component of ONUMOZ (CIVPOL) will help to improve the climate of respect for law and order throughout the country, thus securing the freedom and transparency necessary for the normal conduct of elections.

The parties must also allow ONUMOZ, including the police observers, unimpeded access to the areas under their control. The same goes for all the political forces in the country, in order to ensure free political activity in the whole territory of Mozambique.

We believe, with the Secretary-General, that it is possible to hold free and fair elections in Mozambique if certain minimal conditions are met: namely, free access by the National Elections Commission to all areas of the country; the widest possible participation of political parties at all levels of the electoral process; free access to State mass media; logistic support from the Government and the donor community to the electoral process; and the total and unconditional commitment by all parties to accept the results of the elections once the National Elections Commission has declared them free and fair and this has been confirmed by the United Nations.

Spain is following carefully developments in the peace process in Mozambique. We have felt certain from the

outset that a promising future lies ahead for that country, to which we are bound by close ties of friendship and cooperation, as is shown by our participation in the United Nations Operation in Mozambique and reaffirmed by the dispatch of Spanish observers to perform police functions. We are therefore gratified that the Council is continuing its endeavours to make the peace process in Mozambique another exemplary model of harmony in the African continent.

The President: I thank the representative of Spain for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Keating (New Zealand): I would like to begin by congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. The Council has before it again a very challenging agenda, but your well-known diplomatic skills and experience are guarantees that our work will be conducted effectively and efficiently. May I also express appreciation to Council members for the kind comments they have directed to myself and to my delegation.

My delegation is grateful to the Secretary-General for his report on the situation in Mozambique. It highlights a number of positive developments in the ongoing peace process in that country. New Zealand welcomes the commitment which the parties have shown to maintaining the cease-fire in Mozambique and to implementing the provisions of the General Peace Agreement. The regular meetings between President Chissano and Mr. Dhlakama have been crucial in this regard, and we believe continued dialogue between the two leaders will be the best way to ensure the positive momentum is maintained.

We welcome the announcement by President Chissano that general elections will be held on 27 and 28 October. This announcement is a significant step forward, and, my delegation hopes, a signal of the intention of the parties to keep to the time-frame set by the Security Council. Through the adoption of the present resolution, the Council has further underlined the importance of the parties' adhering to this time-frame.

The beginning of the process of cantonment and demobilization of troops is a further source of satisfaction. So, too, is the work begun on forming and training the new Mozambican Defence Force. But there have been substantial delays in implementation of these processes. We are particularly concerned that the assembly of troops now appears to be at a near standstill,

and that agreement has not yet been achieved on the way to advance the training process for the new Defence Force.

My delegation would like to underscore that the timely completion of these processes is crucial to ensuring that free and fair elections take place in October. The parties must honour their obligations under the General Peace Agreement and do so in a timely fashion. They must also extend their full cooperation to the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ).

The Secretary-General has noted that the United Nations demining programme has also suffered significant delays. This is a matter of particular concern to my delegation, given that New Zealand has provided mine-clearance experts to ONUMOZ. Demining is a key element in the peace process, and continued delays affect other important programmes, such as those to assist internally displaced persons and returnees. We welcome the Secretary-General's intention to accelerate the demining programme. We will be looking for this issue to be covered in detail in his next report in July.

The resolution we have just adopted is an important one. It covers the crucial final period of implementation of the General Peace Agreement. It extends the mandate of ONUMOZ over that period, and at the strength proposed by the Secretary-General. My delegation welcomes the Secretary-General's intention to maintain the observer component of ONUMOZ at its current strength. We believe the observers have an essential role to play in the lead-up to the elections, particularly in the post-demobilization phase, when the cease-fire will need to be carefully monitored.

New Zealand also shares the Secretary-General's caution about further reductions of the military component of ONUMOZ before the elections take place. Let us be clear: there are very real prospects of a successful conclusion to the peace process in Mozambique. It would be tragic indeed if the process faltered at the final stage because of a lack of resources or personnel shortages.

Of course, we would expect that careful monitoring of the expenditure of ONUMOZ will be continued and that appropriate economies will be achieved wherever possible.

New Zealand has consistently supported the General Peace Agreement as the way to lasting peace in Mozambique. We have also lent practical support to the peace process through our participation in demining and

through our support for ongoing humanitarian programmes in that country.

May I conclude by commending the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the personnel of ONUMOZ for the work they have done, and are continuing to do, in Mozambique.

The President: I thank the representative of New Zealand for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Cardenas (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, Sir, I wish to express my delegation's satisfaction at seeing you preside over the Security Council for the month of May. Secondly, our appreciation goes to Ambassador Colin Keating of New Zealand for his work last month, which we feel was both difficult and exceptional.

My delegation has taken careful note of the detailed report presented by the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ). We are gratified, of course, by the progress made by the parties - the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO - in implementing the General Peace Agreement, which should culminate in the successful conclusion of this process with the holding of elections, which, it has been announced, will take place on 27 and 28 October. We also welcome the maintenance of the cease-fire, the beginning of the training programme for the new Mozambican Defence Force and the fact that the National Elections Commission has started functioning.

We also find particularly encouraging the commencement of the process of cantonment and demobilization of the forces of both parties, but we share the concern over delays in implementing major aspects of the General Peace Agreement. In this respect, we appeal to the parties to renew their commitment and to implement fully and without delay the provisions of the Agreement, lending their unrestricted support to the important electoral process that is now under way, including the work of the National Elections Commission.

While emphasizing that the ultimate responsibility for the success of the process now under way must, clearly, be borne by the people of Mozambique, who will also be its beneficiaries, my delegation believes that the international community should be unstinting in its support for this process in order to cooperate in ensuring that it is completed within the agreed time. In this context, we pay tribute to the work of ONUMOZ, to

which Argentina contributes with a military hospital in Maputo and with military observers.

Through the resolution that we have just adopted, we support the renewal of the mandate of ONUMOZ until 15 November next, in accordance with the recommendations of the Secretary-General in his last report and without prejudice to the effective completion of its mandate.

We urge the parties to cooperate with UNOMUZ and in particular with the police observers who have been deployed in accordance with Security Council resolution 898 (1994). We call on them to comply with the deadline set for the holding of the elections - that is, at end of October. We also wish to emphasize the endeavours and successful activities of the Secretary-General, through his Special Representative, and of the Organization of African Unity in implementing the General Peace Agreement. We hope that these concerted efforts and the objectives of peace and reconstruction will yield the desired result of a promising future for Mozambique.

The President: I thank the representative of Argentina for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Sidorov (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): At the outset, on behalf of the delegation of the Russian Federation, I should like to wish you every success, Sir, in your responsible and difficult post as President of the Security Council.

We are grateful to the Permanent Representative of New Zealand, Ambassador Colin Keating, for his skilful leadership of the Council in April.

The Russian Federation supported the draft resolution adopted today, which it considers to be an important step taken by the Security Council towards the successful completion of the peace process and the holding of general elections in accordance with the established calendar. As stressed in the report of the Secretary-General, contained in document S/1994/511, the major political conditions for this have been met.

Today's decision of the Security Council clearly directs the Mozambican parties to expedite their full implementation of the Peace Agreement and to resolve specific issues surrounding the preparations for the elections. Of special significance are questions relating to the assembly and demobilization of troops and the creation of a new army. In this connection, we consider extremely

important the provisions of the resolution urging the parties effectively to correct the imbalances and disproportions they have allowed to arise and calling upon them to comply with the timetable established for the peace process, which will help strengthen the climate of trust and constructive cooperation between them at this key stage in the settlement. In our opinion, it is precisely such an approach, and not the putting off of complex problems until after the elections, that will allow us to avoid complications which, as we have seen from our experience in the settlement of conflicts in several other countries, can make much more difficult the realization of a process of national reconciliation in its final stages.

There is little time left before the elections in Mozambique, and we trust that all the Mozambican parties will make effective use of the favourable conditions offered them by the international community and will eliminate any remaining problems and successfully prepare for and hold the elections.

We proceed from the premise that the Security Council will continue to follow carefully the course of the peace process in Mozambique in order to avoid any hitches in the strict observance of the time-frame set for the elections and the clear fulfilment of the ONUMOZ mandate.

The President: I thank the representative of the Russian Federation for his kind words addressed to me.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Nigeria.

The resolution which we have just adopted marks a very important step forward in the process of fulfilling the United Nations mandate on Mozambique. My delegation was pleased to vote in favour of it because it underlines the international community's abiding commitment to the peace process in Mozambique, which, if carried to its logical end, will enable the country to begin a new era of peace and development. We are also greatly encouraged by the sound and hopeful nature of the analysis of developments in Mozambique presented by my friend and brother Ambassador Pedro Comissario Afonso in his statement before this Council.

The Secretary-General's report, contained in document S/1994/511 of 28 April 1994, which constituted the basis for the present resolution noted, *inter alia*, three major difficulties which still have to be overcome before the due date of the elections in October.

First, there are the continuing delays in the implementation of major aspects of the General Peace Agreement, in particular the assembly and demobilization of troops, militia and paramilitary forces, and the formation of the new Mozambican Defence Force. Secondly, the parties have been reluctant to provide accurate information on the number of troops which remain to be assembled. Thirdly, only limited access has been given to the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) to military bases to verify military equipment.

On the other hand, the Secretary-General's report noted the important development that the President of Mozambique had announced that the general elections would take place on 27 and 28 October 1994 and that, to that effect, the National Elections Commission had been inaugurated. Similarly, some principal officials have been designated and the President of Mozambique, Mr. Chissano, and the President of RENAMO, Mr. Afonso Dhlakama, have continued to have regular dialogue. Furthermore, the cease-fire has continued to hold throughout Mozambique and on 8 April both the Government and RENAMO entered into an agreement which bound the Government to expedite the assembly of troops and RENAMO to accelerate the pace of its demobilization to meet the targets of 1 June 1994 for the completion of the assembly of forces and 15 July 1994 for the completion of the demobilization process. On its part, however, the Security Council should ensure that any drawdown of the military components of ONUMOZ does not compromise the security environment which is essential for the conduct of free and fair elections, scheduled for October 1994.

The Government of Nigeria is confident that Mozambique has every promise of a successful international effort in that country. For a number of reasons, therefore, the resolution which we have just adopted is not only timely but also very appropriate.

First, it rightly extends the mandate of ONUMOZ to 15 November 1994, beyond the election date of 28 October 1994, to allow sufficient time for the operations to wind down and for the post-election dust to settle. Secondly, it calls upon the parties - in particular RENAMO - to comply fully with all the provisions of the General Peace Agreement, expedite the assembly of troops and accelerate the pace of demobilization of troops. Thirdly, with regard to the new Mozambican Defence Force, the resolution calls upon the parties to ensure that the maximum possible number of soldiers are trained for the Force before the elections take place. Finally, the resolution we have just adopted welcomes the commencement of the deployment of the United Nations police observers as authorized in paragraph 2 of resolution 898 (1994) of 23 February 1994 and stresses the importance the Council attaches to the fullest cooperation of the parties with the police observers of ONUMOZ.

Finally, my delegation appreciates the very important role which the international community has continued to play in Mozambique. We commend in particular the efforts of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and other humanitarian agencies operating in Mozambique. We appeal to them not to relent in their efforts or in their disposition to provide financial and humanitarian assistance until peace and stability fully return to Mozambique. That is when victory will be certain for all the people of Mozambique.

I now resume my function as President of the Council.

There are no other names on the list of speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 8.40 p.m.



Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

3376th Meeting

Friday, 6 May 1994, 11 a.m.

New York

Provisional

President:	Mr. Gambari	(Nigeria)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Chen Jian
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. MÉRIMÉE
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Pakistan	Mr. Khan
	Russian Federation	Mr. Vorontsov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bizimana
	Spain	Mr. Pedaue
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The question concerning Haiti

94-85627 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week*, to the Chief, Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178 and incorporated in a copy of the record.

The meeting was called to order at 12.10 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The question concerning Haiti

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Canada, Haiti and Venezuela, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Longchamp (Haiti) took a place at the Council table; Mrs. Fréchette (Canada) and Mr. Tejera Paris (Venezuela) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1994/541, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted to it by Argentina, Canada, France, the United States of America and Venezuela.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following revisions to be made to the text of the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/541, in its provisional form.

In operative paragraph 7 (a), the words

"notified to the Committee established pursuant to resolution 841 (1993)"

are to be deleted.

The second revision is to add the following words at the end of operative paragraph 10:

"and also to ensure that the Committee established pursuant to resolution 841 (1993) is kept regularly informed".

The first speaker is the representative of Haiti, on whom I now call.

Mr. Longchamp (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): The Government of the Republic of Haiti welcomes the submission to the Security Council of a draft resolution containing measures along the lines of those requested by President Aristide, in particular in his address to the General Assembly on 28 October 1993 and in his letter to the Secretary-General of 9 March 1994.

On behalf of my Government, I also wish to express our deep appreciation to the countries that are the Four Friends of the Secretary-General and to the delegation of Argentina, which sponsored the draft resolution.

The aim of the draft resolution is to force the leadership of the Haitian Armed Forces to abide by the commitments they made to the Haitian people and the international community when they signed the Governors Island Agreement. This Agreement was achieved thanks to the hard work of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General and of the Organization of American States, with the help of the Four Friends.

Unfortunately, since the signing of the Governors Island Agreement, the military has not only reneged on its commitment, but has also created conditions preventing the Agreement's implementation, by, *inter alia*, establishing a paramilitary organization known as FRAPH, whose members are primarily recruited from among the "tontons macoutes" of the Duvalier dictatorship.

The sudden arrival of FRAPH on the political scene in Haiti coincided not only with a worsening of banditry and gangsterism, but also with human rights violations of a kind hitherto unknown among the range of repressive measures in Haiti: the rape of women, the kidnapping of children and the mutilation of the bodies of victims. At the same time, they are trying to exploit the sanctions by monopolizing the trade in petroleum products and by-products.

Despite the difficult and often hostile conditions, and the limited means at its disposal, the International Civilian Mission in Haiti reported more than 50 cases of summary execution in the Port-au-Prince area, attributed to the military and its civilian auxiliaries, in February alone. Recently, the people of Petit Bourg du Borgne and the suburb of Gonaïves were the victims of massacres carried out by tactical units of the Haitian Armed Forces. This led to a mass flight to the interior of the country and attempts to flee elsewhere to escape the terror of the putschist regime.

A solution to the crisis cannot come too soon for the Haitian people. We therefore hope that the draft resolution will have the desired result, even before it enters into force: the departure of the military and the immediate restoration of President Aristide to his legitimate functions.

We thank in advance the members of the Security Council, who we trust will unanimously adopt the draft resolution. I take this opportunity to make an urgent appeal to the international community, States, institutions, organizations and others to ensure that the sanctions provided for in the draft resolution are fully implemented, in order to end the suffering of the Haitian people. The success of this initiative depends on strict compliance with the draft resolution.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Canada. I invite her to take a place at the Council table and to make her statement.

Mrs. Fréchette (Canada) (*interpretation from French*): Allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of May and to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Keating, for his energetic and effective leadership of the Council's work in April.

Thirty-one months after the overthrow of Haiti's democratically elected President, the Reverend Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the situation in Haiti is bleak. Efforts to implement the Governors Island Agreement, negotiated almost a year ago, which is aimed at the return of President Aristide and the restoration of democracy in Haiti, are at an impasse.

In the meantime human-rights abuses, still widespread, have escalated in recent weeks. Armed civilian groups intimidate their fellow Haitians with impunity. Political and civil rights are denied. The humanitarian situation continues to deteriorate. The

military authorities responsible for the 1991 *coup d'état* remain in place, President Aristide has not returned and the Haitian people continue to suffer. In short, the promise of stability and democracy envisaged in the Governors Island Agreement has not been realized.

My Government concluded several months ago that stronger measures were needed to break this impasse. The key to resolving the Haitian crisis remains compliance by the military authorities with their obligations under the Governors Island Agreement. Existing sanctions, reimposed in October, have proved insufficient for achieving this end.

That is why Canada is a co-sponsor of the draft resolution, which imposes a comprehensive commercial embargo and a number of measures aimed specifically at the military authorities and other supporters of the 1991 *coup d'état*. My Government is convinced that this is the only way to force the military authorities to respect their commitments.

I wish to underline in this regard that the draft resolution makes it clear that sanctions will not be lifted completely until President Aristide has returned to Haiti.

The effectiveness of the existing sanctions and the new measures in the draft resolution depends on full compliance by all States. Canada, with several other countries is participating in the maritime interdiction force aimed at achieving full implementation of the sanctions.

However, the land border between Haiti and the Dominican Republic remains a key factor in this equation. Sanctions violations across this border substantially reduce the impact of the measures we impose. They are unacceptable, and they must stop.

We welcome the decision by President Balaguer to establish a commission to control that border and put an end to those violations. We firmly support the request by the Dominican authorities for United Nations assistance in this regard. In our view, international technical assistance, possibly including the deployment of international monitors, would help ensure that the Dominican Republic can effectively carry out its responsibilities. Canada stands ready to help in these efforts.

(spoke in English)

Some have argued that tougher sanctions now would only aggravate the abysmal humanitarian situation in Haiti. Let there be no mistake. It is the failure of the military authorities to fulfil their commitments which is solely responsible for the plight of the Haitian population. As long as they remain, there is little hope that the humanitarian situation will improve.

Since last November President Aristide has called for comprehensive sanctions. They are the necessary price to pay to rid Haiti once and for all of the source of its suffering. We fully share the President's hope that these measures will be in place for as short a time as possible. This depends entirely on the actions of the military authorities.

We are very concerned by the suffering inflicted on the Haitian people by the intransigence of these authorities. Canada has provided over \$35 million in humanitarian aid since the 1991 *coup d'état* to help meet the needs of the most vulnerable sectors of the population. We will continue to provide assistance in the form of essential foodstuffs and medicines.

Until now the delivery of international humanitarian assistance has been largely unimpeded. My Government strongly warns against any attempt to interfere with the delivery of this assistance or to endanger the personal security and safety of those involved in these efforts.

Our central message has not changed. The Haitian military authorities must honour their commitments, and President Aristide must return to Haiti. Canada remains fully committed to realizing these objectives. My Government believes that the international community is united in its determination to see that the process begun at Governors Island is completed. The draft resolution before the Council reflects this determination and our unity of purpose. It is an important step in ensuring President Aristide returns and legitimate authority is finally restored to Haiti.

The President: I thank the representative of Canada for the kind words she addressed to me and to my predecessor.

The next speaker is the representative of Venezuela. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Tejera París (Venezuela) *(interpretation from Spanish):* My Government demands and supports the restoration of democracy in Haiti and respect for the decisions contained in both the Governors Island Agreement and the New York Pact. It also considers that the text of the draft resolution before the Council today comprises ideas repeatedly put forward by Venezuela in the past. The draft resolution deserves immediate adoption, in view of its introduction by the United States delegation and the subsequent work done by the group of Friends of the Secretary-General and by the members of the Security Council that joined in the deliberations and the effort to deliberate and find consensus.

The subject before the Council today is of the utmost importance to Venezuela. Not only is Haiti a friendly neighbouring country to which we are linked by many ties of history and solidarity; it is above all a country struggling to preserve democracy, which, as expressly mandated in our Constitution, is one of the supreme principles of our foreign policy.

Military rebellion and dictatorship are tragic experiences for any people. In Haiti there is in addition, as we see every day, the routine, shameless violation of human rights. The protection of these rights and the rejection of dictatorship can allow no settlement or negotiations that might allow guilty parties to go unpunished. Though it is wise to bear realities in mind, and look for ways out of a crisis, such efforts should not be prolonged to the point of becoming weakness.

Being convinced of that, we must say once again that the legitimate Government of Haiti and its Constitutional President have proved the loftiness of their aims by agreeing to search for compromise formulas that will make it possible for their country to return without disturbance to institutional normality. These compromise formulas were set down in the Governors Island Agreement and the New York Pact, which were sponsored and endorsed by the international community and deserve the staunchest solidarity to ensure their implementation.

If the international community weakens its support or begins to interpret these agreements in such a way as to limit their scope, it will only prolong the crisis and hence the suffering of the Haitian people. By returning to our original strategy, we shall hasten the restoration of constitutional normality in Haiti, shorten the period of anguish and suffering, and open the way to prosperity.

If there is anything worse than a crisis, it is getting accustomed to living with it. Any delay, any vacillation, any distortion of the fundamental objectives could have terrible consequences, such as human rights violations, for procrastination will lead to smuggling and the black market, and to more suffering for the Haitian people. In the name of love and compassion we must ask all countries not to violate the sanctions regime and to punish any violations, so that the sanctions can be kept brief and so that they will have greater impact on the guilty parties than on the Haitian people. Moreover, the leaders of the dictatorship must be made to understand that these sanctions are not reprisals, but a strong new appeal to their patriotism; by their departure and by the restoration of constitutional Government, they will be preventing further suffering and enabling us all to help the people of Péti6n rebuild their once-flourishing economy.

This is not the limit of the international community's action; we must be ready to offer Haiti technical, administrative and material assistance in forging its political, economic and social democracy. We must work with commitment to reduce, as far as possible, the negative impact the expanded sanctions regime could have on a population abandoned to the lowest levels of poverty, despite its human and material potential.

Venezuela will continue its efforts as a Friend of the Secretary-General on the question of Haiti. We trust that the present measures will enable President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to return home and lead the political and economic recovery of his country. We pledge our utmost cooperation.

I wish to congratulate Ambassador Colin Keating of New Zealand on his dedicated and efficient presidency of the Council last month. We wish also to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. Your personal and professional qualities are well known in my country, and in the United Nations. We are sure that with your usual careful and effective approach you will successfully preside over the delicate work of the Council to promote international peace and security.

The President: I thank the representative of Venezuela for the kind words he addressed to me and to my predecessor.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it, as orally revised in its provisional form. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Cárdenas (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Today the Security Council is once again considering the situation in Haiti, because of the continuing failure of the military authorities in that country to honour their commitments under the Governors Island Agreement, and because of the massive violations of human rights being committed in Haiti with impunity.

The proud people of Haiti, whom we regard with affection, was the second in the Americas to win independence and blazed the trail of freedom for other American States. It has suffered much in recent times. We need only recall the dictatorship of François Duvalier and of his son Jean-Claude Duvalier, removed in 1986 by the armed forces.

December 1990 saw free presidential elections, in which the Haitian people, by a two-thirds majority, elected Jean-Bertrand Aristide as their President. The elections were supervised by the Organization of American States and by the United Nations itself. A few months later the Haitian military interrupted the fragile democratic process in their country.

The Argentine Republic is shocked by the suffering of the Haitian people. Human rights are systematically violated in Haiti, and organized terror runs rampant everywhere. The international community cannot stand by in the face of these horrendous violations of fundamental human rights, violations which are a clear affront to the world conscience. There must be a reaction, and this reaction should come under the Charter of the United Nations.

Because of its scope, the tragedy of Haiti goes beyond the country's borders. The international community cannot regard the serious, systematic violation of human rights within the territory of a given State as a purely internal matter.

The draft resolution before us, which the Argentine Republic joined other Friends of Haiti in sponsoring, strengthens the sanctions regime the Security Council imposed by resolution 841 (1993). For the first time, these are personalized sanctions that will apply to those

who continue to flout the will of the international community.

Recent history, including the elections in South Africa, shows that, with time and perseverance, economic sanctions can be effective. They isolate a country and in this case they pin responsibility on those who have seized power.

In this draft resolution, the international community, with the firm, united support of the Latin American and Caribbean region, has a clear objective: the restoration of democracy in Haiti. Democracy and human rights are very closely related. Democracy is the only system of government that by definition requires respect for human rights. More important, it has internal mechanisms by which abuses of human rights can be corrected.

Once the goal of restoring democracy is achieved in Haiti, its leaders must set out on the path of reconciliation, avoiding fanaticism and intolerance. In doing so, they can count on our solidarity.

The Argentine Republic is very deeply concerned that the sanctions set out in the draft resolution should make their fullest impact. To that end, there must be appropriate monitoring on the high seas, in which Argentina will participate with a ship from its navy, as well as on land. All borders must be sealed when we are ensuring strict compliance with Security Council resolutions. In that connection, we welcome the recent decision of the Dominican Republic to set up a high-level executive commission to monitor the embargo, as well as its recent request to the Secretary-General for technical assistance.

Mr. Pedauye (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On various occasions this Council has shown that it is willing to consider measures in addition to those adopted under resolution 841 (1993), in which an oil and weapons embargo was imposed on Haiti. Resolution 873 (1993) established that the Council would take such action if the military authorities continued to interfere with the activities of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) or failed to comply in full with this Council's resolutions and the provisions of the Governors Island Agreement.

In this connection, we should recall that the Secretary-General reported to the Council on 19 January, in document S/1994/54, and on 18 March, in document S/1994/311 that no changes in the situation in Haiti had occurred that would make possible a resumption of the United Nations Mission there.

As for compliance with the resolutions of this Council and the provisions of the Governors Island Agreement, the de facto authorities in Haiti have demonstrated little or no intention of complying in either case and continue to impede a return to constitutional normalcy in Haiti.

The impunity with which armed groups are sowing terror among the population, with the consent of the de facto authorities, proves that those authorities are continuing to test the limits of the international community's patience.

The Secretary-General's report to the General Assembly of 29 April (A/48/931) indicated that in the last few months there have been very serious violations of human rights, in particular extra-judicial executions, enforced disappearances, arbitrary and illegal detentions, abductions and rapes - all of which appear to be designed to intimidate those who support the return of the legitimate President of Haiti.

It is against that background that we are about to adopt this draft resolution. The embargo measures contained in it are not an end in themselves; rather, they are an instrument to be used for the political objectives enshrined in the Governors Island Agreement and the New York Pact, which continue to be the obligatory frame of reference for a solution to the political and social crisis in which Haiti is currently engulfed.

These measures are not directed against the Haitian people, whose situation, from the humanitarian standpoint, is a matter of constant concern to the authorities in my country. On the contrary, the draft resolution the Council is about to adopt is designed so that the burden of the sanctions will fall on those who are responsible for the crisis. The ultimate objective of the sanctions is to facilitate the restoration of democracy in Haiti and the return of President Aristide.

It is important to recall that the effectiveness of the sanctions will also depend on the scrupulous compliance by States with the resolutions of this Council. As in other cases, it must be recognized that the neighbouring countries will have to make a special effort and suffer considerable economic damage. For that reason, it is natural that the draft resolution we are about to adopt should provide for the consideration of requests for assistance under Article 50 of the United Nations Charter.

My delegation has taken note of and welcomes the establishment by the authorities of the Dominican Republic of a Committee to monitor the embargo on Haiti; the objective of the action is to make the embargo as effective as possible. We regard as very appropriate the Committee's request to the Secretary-General that technical advisers be sent to the Dominican Republic to assess the situation in the field and inform the Committee of measures that could be taken to improve implementation of the sanctions along the land and sea borders adjoining the territory of the Dominican Republic.

Before concluding, my delegation would like to indicate once again that the political framework established in the Governors Island Agreement remains valid. Only the return of the legitimate President of Haiti, following the implementation of the Agreement's other provisions, will make it possible to restore constitutional order and democracy and resolve the crisis. We trust that the draft resolution we are on the point of adopting, which is firmly and unanimously supported by the countries of the Latin American and Caribbean Group, will contribute to the achievement of this goal.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): The situation in Haiti grows more desperate by the day. A small group of military officers has usurped the sovereignty of an independent people. The usurpers are devoid of honour or patriotism and driven only by greed and mistaken self-interest. They have violated their obligation to uphold Haiti's Constitution, violated their commitments to the international community and violated the most fundamental rights of their people.

Today, the Security Council speaks with one voice. We demand an end to the assault on democracy in Haiti.

By tightening the sanctions noose around the Haitian military today, this Council is joining President Clinton in his determination to protect the people of Haiti and to promote their demand for democracy and dignity.

It is important to note that this draft resolution is the product of full cooperation among the Latin American and Caribbean States, the members of the Council, and the democratically elected Government of Haiti.

This is a step that we did not want to have to take, and a step we should never have had even to consider. We know that sanctions are a blunt instrument. And we are acutely conscious of the suffering of the Haitian people and of the potential of these sanctions to aggravate that

suffering. That is why the United States and the international community are also undertaking humanitarian-assistance measures in Haiti on a massive scale.

We in the United States are particularly conscious of the plight of Haitians who, for economic or political reasons, feel they have no future in their homeland. It is our firm objective through this Council and through other means to establish in Haiti once again the conditions under which no Haitians need fear for their lives or livelihoods and all Haitians will have an opportunity to build a future for themselves and their families.

Sanctions are one of the most potent weapons the international community has. Our step imposes upon us a significant moral obligation - to persevere and enforce these sanctions fully so they achieve their objective in the shortest possible time. We recognize that the burden of enforcement does not fall equally on all States. We extend our thanks to the Government of the Dominican Republic for the cooperation it has promised in enforcing these measures. Together, all of us can and must make these sanctions work. The price of failure would be too high for all of us.

The President: The Council will now vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/541, as orally revised in its provisional form.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution as orally revised in its provisional form has thus been adopted unanimously as resolution 917 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Mérimée (France) (interpretation from French): My delegation is pleased that the Council has adopted resolution 917 (1994), which establishes a complete and stringent sanctions regime against the

putschist military authorities in Haiti, who continue, in total disregard for the rule of law and international morality, to oppose the return of democracy to a country brought to total ruin through their excesses and those of their minions.

France ventures to hope that, through the determination thus expressed so unanimously by the international community, the Haitian military authorities will be compelled to apply the commitments they themselves entered into almost a year ago.

France has wished to ensure that the imposition of new sanctions are seen first of all as a means to achieve a political result, and not as an end in itself. The objective we seek is clear: to ensure that democracy regains its course in Haiti and to foster the return of President Aristide to his own country.

The Council has seen to it that that objective will not be achieved at the cost of the infliction of intolerable suffering on the Haitian people, which has suffered too much already. The Council intends to censure a minority, including through the use of measures that are exceptional in that they are aimed at individuals. In so doing, the Council has also made sure that the poorest people will not be crushed even more. It is in this spirit that the Security Council will conduct a regular review of the implementation of the sanctions, especially in regard to the humanitarian situation in that country.

Regarding the implementation of sanctions, there is one point that should be emphasized. For my Government, the effectiveness of the sanctions will depend, to a large extent, on the manner in which the Dominican Republic applies this Council resolution. We are certain that the Dominican Government will take to heart the international community's wishes in this regard.

My delegation, furthermore, considers it very important that the economy of Haiti not be brought to collapse by the sanctions regime to be imposed on it in the days to come. That is why we have ensured that there are several exceptions to the sanctions. The Committee charged with the application of the decisions we are adopting will strictly monitor the use to be made of these humanitarian exceptions, to ensure that the putschist circles do not try to take advantage of them.

The sanctions should induce the military and those who support them to agree to step aside and, if need be, leave the country. The military and their allies thus have

no choice. France firmly calls upon them to take all the measures required of them so that the political, economic and social deterioration of the situation in Haiti, for which they bear full responsibility, ceases and that country regains the President it has democratically elected.

To be sure, the sequence of events provided for under the Governors Island Agreement as signed on 3 July 1993 can no longer be implemented in accordance with the exact timetable agreed upon almost a year ago. At the very least, there are reasons to review the deadlines and to shorten them. In our view, there is also a new dimension to be introduced to take into account the forthcoming expiration of the mandate of the Parliament - that is, the forthcoming legislative elections, which are an element essential to the restoration of democracy in Haiti. There can obviously be no question of allowing the putschist circles to profit from the institutional vacuum in order to manipulate this election to their own advantage.

My country believes that the restoration of democracy in Haiti, while it presupposes the return of the duly elected President, also requires the existence of a parliamentary institution designed and functioning in accordance with full respect for democratic constitutional principles. These two elements are inseparable. It is up to us to see to it that they are translated into fact. It is also up to all the protagonists in the Haitian democratic arena to contribute to ensuring that this is done.

France for its part is prepared to spare no effort to achieve this result and to make sure that Haiti, in regaining democracy, embarks again on the path of harmony and progress.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): Brazil attaches particular importance to the fact that the Security Council is meeting today in order to consider the question concerning Haiti, a sister nation of the Latin American and Caribbean Group of States.

For more than two years, the international community has been confronted with a crisis that does not seem to slacken its pace. The de facto authorities in Haiti continue to obstruct the timely and strict implementation of the Governors Island Agreement and the New York Pact in a climate of wanton violence and disregard for the basic principles of human dignity. The recent escalation of violence has shocked and outraged the Brazilian people.

As we have stated on previous occasions, the action of the Council can only be understood in the light of the unique and exceptional character of the situation still prevailing in Haiti.

The action taken today by the Council intends to compel the military authorities in Port-au-Prince to relinquish power in compliance with previous agreements signed with the supervision of the United Nations and the Organization of American States (OAS). The option pursued - the broadening of the current sanctions regime - raises, however, a number of issues of concern on the possible deterioration of the humanitarian situation in that country. It is our fear that a comprehensive embargo might create additional suffering for the Haitian people. Thus it is important to keep under constant review any adverse consequences that the extremely serious measures taken by the Council might entail; indeed, this is provided for in the resolution we have adopted.

A sanctions regime can never be an end in itself. In this regard, it would be hard to conceive of the imposition of measures that affect an entire population being adopted in a political vacuum. We thus welcome the firm and sound political basis of the resolution, aiming at the re-establishment of full democracy and the reinstatement of the legitimate President, Jean-Bertrand Aristide. There can be no doubt of the commitment of the international community to pursuing this objective. It is our strong belief that any electoral process in Haiti should be carried out within the framework of the full re-establishment of constitutional rule.

In this respect, it is the view of Brazil that the cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of American States, which proved to be a major tool in the firm international response to the illegal actions undertaken by the de facto authorities, should be effectively maintained until a final solution to the crisis is reached.

The violent interruption of constitutional order in Haiti has clouded the prospects for democratization on the basis of the undisputed prevalence of the rule of law. The international community should persevere in its efforts towards a peaceful solution in order to bring back hope to a people - a friendly and talented people - that is valiantly struggling for democracy. The resolution adopted today is an important expression of multilateral political will.

The Brazilian delegation stands ready to work with other delegations to take appropriate diplomatic measures aiming at the full restoration of democracy in Haiti.

Mr. Chen Jian (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation supported, with reservations, the resolution just adopted. We understand that the main purpose of this resolution is to create the necessary conditions for the early restoration of peace and stability in Haiti. Having in the past been a victim of long years of war and instability, the Chinese people cherishes dearly its hard-won peaceful life and is therefore ready to support the efforts designed to facilitate the peace process and re-establish stability in Haiti. The importance of peace and stability cannot be overemphasized, for without them there can be neither political freedom nor economic rehabilitation for the Haitian people, who have suffered so bitterly and for so long.

We hope that the proposed action, as advocated by the sponsors, will contribute to the long-awaited goal of restoring peace and stability to the tragic land of Haiti.

All of this notwithstanding, the history of the United Nations has taught us many lessons, one of which is that sanctions are not a panacea that can be applied whenever and wherever it suits us, for want of a better solution. China, based on its consistent position, does not favour the use of sanctions as a means of resolving conflicts. We therefore urge the parties concerned to redouble their efforts to find a lasting and peaceful solution to the conflict in Haiti.

The Chinese delegation wishes to place on record that the sanctions regime contained in this resolution is, in the absence of other effective measures, an exceptional step taken under the highly unique circumstances now prevailing in Haiti and one which should not constitute any precedent, and that our vote in favour does not presuppose any change in our position *vis-à-vis* the issue of sanctions in general.

"The humanitarian situation is deteriorating in spite of the efforts of the United Nations and the NGOs" (A/48/931, para. 31).

Those are the very words the Secretary-General, in his report to the General Assembly, uses in describing the depth of the sufferings inflicted upon the Haitian people. Ironically, this suffering is at least partly attributable to the sanctions already applied to Haiti by the Security Council and by other bodies. The question is then whether the newly introduced sanctions regime, if applied, could possibly increase the suffering of the ordinary people in Haiti; and we cannot but express our concern about this. In this connection, the Council, the Secretary-General and the Organization of American States should, as they are bound to do by their moral duty, monitor closely the humanitarian situation in Haiti and take the necessary measures to alleviate the adverse effects of sanctions should our expressed concern translate into reality.

History tells us that, in the final analysis, it is the people themselves who are the masters of their destiny and that it is history that will pass judgement on each one for his or her actions. With the adoption of this resolution,

we once again strongly urge the parties in Haiti, in particular the Haitian military, to heed the repeated calls of the international community and to seize the opportunity offered to comply fully and promptly with the obligations they assumed under the Governors Island Agreement and the related New York Pact, so that the new sanctions regime would become unnecessary and a new page could be turned in the annals of Haitian history.

The President: There are no other names on the list of speakers.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.



Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3377th Meeting

Monday, 16 May 1994, 11.10 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Gambari	(Nigeria)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Brazil	Mr. Valle
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Pakistan	Mr. Niaz
	Russian Federation	Mr. Vorontsov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bicamumpaka
	Spain	Mr. Yañez Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mr. Inderfurth

Agenda

The situation concerning Rwanda
Report of the Secretary-General (S/1994/565)

The meeting was called to order at 12.05 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning Rwanda.

Report of the Secretary-General (S/1994/565)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Rwanda, document S/1994/565.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/571, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by the Czech Republic, France, the Russian Federation, Spain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America. I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following revisions to be made to the text of the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/571, in its provisional form: Operative paragraph 7 should now read as follows:

"Further requests the Secretary-General to report as soon as possible on the next phase of UNAMIR's deployment, including inter alia on the cooperation of the parties, progress towards a cease-fire, availability of resources and the proposed duration of the mandate, for further review and action, as required, by the Council".

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents:

- S/1994/527, letter dated 2 May 1994 from the Chargé d'affaires ad interim of the Permanent Mission of the United Republic of Tanzania to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1994/552, letter dated 9 May 1994 from the representatives of Uganda and the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1994/553, letter dated 10 May 1994 from the Chargé d'affaires ad interim of the Permanent Mission of Uganda to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; and S/1994/562, letter dated 12 May 1994 from the Permanent Representative of

Burkina Faso to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

A separate vote on section B of the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/571 has been requested. Unless I hear any objection, I shall first put section B of the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Thereafter, I shall put the rest of the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/571 to the vote.

Unless I hear any objection, I shall proceed accordingly.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Bicamumpaka (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, Sir, I should like to congratulate you on your assuming the presidency of the Council for the month of May and on your admirable handling of our work. It is an honour for me to be able to address this august body, which bears the heavy burden of watching over the destiny of the world to preserve it from the catastrophes of war.

I speak to you in order to invite you to look more deeply into the tragic events that are currently besetting my country, Rwanda. Many people learned of these events as they happened, unaware of their historical background and origin, or of the motives behind them. However, many have asked why there was so much hatred and cruelty. Some would answer naively that it was the fault of the Rwandese army or of the Rwandese Government. Yet the actual reality is different, more complex, less easy to grasp from the outside. It is deeply rooted in the subconscious of every Rwandese and in the collective memory of an entire people.

The Rwandese tragedy derives from the age-old history of the nation of Rwanda. The hatred that is erupting now was forged over four centuries of cruel and ruthless domination of the Hutu majority by the haughty and domineering Tutsi minority. The hatred was cultivated by four centuries of cultural indoctrination designed to bring about the mental enslavement of an entire people. But too much hatred and too much

contempt, too much enslavement, inevitably bring rebellion.

That is what happened in Rwanda in 1959, when the Hutu overthrew the feudal monarchy and replaced it with a democratic republic.

The feudal lords did not accept the verdict of history and of the ballot box. But the result of the referendum organized in September 1961 by the United Nations was beyond doubt: no more monarchy in Rwanda, but rather a democratic republic. That was and remains the will of the people of Rwanda.

The feudal lords preferred exile to being governed by the former commoners, the children of slaves. They chose exile and counter-revolution. From 1962 to 1967, Rwanda had therefore to cope with interminable wars fomented in particular by Uganda. There were many innocent victims, either assassinated directly by the invaders or in reprisal by the Hutu population against the Tutsi who had remained in the country.

Several years of tranquility passed. Some said that ethnic hatred had died down, that national reconciliation had been achieved. Deep friendships developed between the Hutu and Tutsi peasants and among the elites on both sides, and mixed marriages were celebrated, many modest but some with great ceremony.

The illusion was perfect, but it was still only an illusion, for then came the invasion of 1 October 1990, fomented by the Chiefs of Staff of President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni of Uganda. The wound that we thought had healed was reopened.

Many lost their lives simply because they were Hutu. The invaders, the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF), had taken the name Inkotanyi, that is, implacable killers - an expression taken from one of the 19th-century royal militias notorious for its cruelty. They destroyed everything that could symbolize republican power - roads, bridges, clinics, hospitals, schools and so on.

And yet, they claim to have taken up arms in order to restore democracy and the prosperity of Rwanda. What kind of democracy accepts the systematic killing of its people? What democracy can tolerate the forced displacement of more than a million people?

Fortunately, the army and the Rwandese people together were able to stop the revenge-seeking invaders,

despite the strong-arm intervention of the Ugandan soldiers, whose notorious Simba battalion was disgraced in the attempt to take the town of Ruhengeri in north-west Rwanda, only 25 kilometres from the frontier with Uganda.

The invaders were forced to negotiate because they were unable to attain their objective of seizing power in Kigali in under three days, the target they had set for themselves.

Here I would like to pay tribute to the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and the outstanding work of his Special Representative in Kigali, to restore peace to Rwanda.

I would also pay a well-deserved tribute to Mr. Ali Hassan Mwinyi, President of the United Republic of Tanzania who, with his wisdom and far-sightedness, was able, as facilitator, to ensure the successful outcome of the Arusha negotiations.

I take the opportunity of commending the tireless efforts of the Organization of African Unity which, working with successive Presidents and the Secretary-General, has made intense diplomatic efforts to restore peace to Rwanda.

Our thanks go to Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, President of the Republic of Zaire, the first mediator to be able to bring together the fraternal enemies so that they could agree on a cease-fire, which was concluded at Nsele-Kinshasa on 29 March 1991.

Finally, I should like to thank all the observers at the negotiations, who spared no effort to get the two parties to sign the Arusha Peace Accords.

The people of Rwanda, and particularly those displaced in the fighting, had legitimate hopes for those agreements. Everybody came together in saying: long live peace in Rwanda.

But alas, how disappointed we were when the moment came to implement the Accords, which had been negotiated with such difficulty. The Rwandese Patriotic Front, the political organ of the invaders, showed its true colours. It wanted power during the transitional period, and at any price.

Indeed, the transitional period was to determine the political future of Rwanda. It was during that period that we were to prepare the constitution, the electoral laws and the other laws to establish the post-electoral political system.

The RPF, the political organization representing the Tutsi minority - about 10 per cent of the Rwandese population - wanted to be able to win the future elections or simply to avoid them by introducing into Rwanda the bizarre system of a non-party democracy so dear to President Museveni of Uganda.

This approach by the RPF was not, however, able to resist the commitment of our people and the political parties to the democratic process, which had already begun.

This was the moment of truth. The leaders of the RPF, with their ultra-conservative ideology based on the arrogance of their ancestors, were not able to accept the contradiction facing them. Unable to persuade, they began to threaten - clear threats that the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and even the international community were not able to stand up against.

It was then that the tragic, cruel and inhuman moment arrived. On 6 April 1994 the Head of State of Rwanda, Major-General Juvénal Habyarimana, was brutally assassinated along with his Burundi counterpart, His Excellency Cyprien Ntaryamira. Two Heads of State died that night at the same time, burned to ashes in the wreckage of their plane, shot down by a ground-to-air missile.

"Good riddance" said one Head of State in the region, whose unconditional support led the RPF to bring the apocalypse to Rwanda. The RPF took advantage of this moment of shock and grief to send its battalions, reinforced by soldiers of the Ugandan regular army, against the capital of Rwanda and against all the other positions of the Rwandese Armed Forces.

Once again, as in March-April 1992 and February-March 1993, the RPF chose to violate agreements concluded with the Government of Rwanda. It has never been said often enough, but it was common knowledge, that as soon as the Arusha Agreement was signed, on 4 August 1993, the RPF began to prepare for war by recruiting and by infiltrating its fighters throughout the country, and particularly into the capital. There were

about 4,000 RPF fighters on 6 April 1994, not the 600 accepted in the Arusha Agreement.

The assassination of the Head of State of Rwanda on 6 April 1994 and the simultaneous resumption of war were not mere coincidence. These events were part of a carefully prepared plan to seize power in Kigali. That plan was coordinated with the Ugandan authorities, who themselves had carried out a concealed demobilization to make soldiers available to send to the front in Rwanda. The resumption of hostilities by the RPF, along with large-scale massacres of Hutu civilians, was the straw that broke the camel's back, unleashing repressed hatreds and a festering desire for revenge.

The apocalypse came in the form of an inter-ethnic war of unbelievable cruelty. Long-repressed hatred and bottled-up feelings resulting from constant provocation erupted. All of these events, one after the other, unleashed the animal instinct of a people afraid of being enslaved once again. Animal instinct or instinct to survive? This is the explanation of the inter-ethnic violence that followed the tragic death of President Habyarimana and the immediate resumption of war by the RPF.

The Government of Rwanda has condemned every massacre, no matter who the perpetrators were. Those perpetrators must be identified and punished. But this applies to the entire duration of the war, that is, since 1 October 1990.

The RPF, strongly supported by Uganda, has taken responsibility for killing the Head of State of Rwanda - high treason in any civilized country - and has resumed the war, a war more savage than the one that began on 1 October 1990. It has carried out systematic, selective massacres of civilians.

The RPF shamelessly accepted responsibility for its heinous crimes because it was certain that it could continue to mislead the world and convince the world it was innocent. But can we believe in its innocence? Can we agree that all of these crimes should simply be disregarded because of an unprecedented media campaign to absolve the assassins and assign them the hero's role?

Yet even before the crimes of April 1994 the RPF had been guilty of abominable crimes that did not move the world and that the media cavalierly ignored. Since the beginning of the war the RPF has massacred more than 100,000 people in the district of Byumba, in

October-November 1990; more than 150,000 in the districts of Ruhengeri and Byumba in February-March 1993; and about 1,000 after the signing of the Arusha Agreement, including some 30 in Kinihira, 20 in Mutura and a number of others in the demilitarized zone.

More recently, after the assassination of President Habyarimana, the RPF ruthlessly massacred Hutu peasants in the north of the country and in the district of Kibungo. Thousands of people perished, and several areas of the capital were plunged into mourning by the RPF, which pitilessly killed men, women, children and old people simply because they were Hutu and against its hegemonic designs.

Now the people of Rwanda have been driven into exile, without any hope of returning, for the RPF is preparing to destroy all that they owned. Indeed, the head of the RPF himself gave the order to march on the capital, saying that men and animals, small and large, should stay out of the way or be killed. Where will they go - these men and these animals? Did not some RPF leaders say at the beginning of the war that the Hutu should go into exile for at least 30 years and leave the country to the Tutsi?

That is not the solution. The solution to the tragedy of Rwanda is not to impose exile on the Hutu, who constitute 90 per cent of the population. The solution is not to let the Tutsi minority - 10 per cent of the population - seize power. The problem of Rwanda has to be understood so that it can be destroyed at its roots. The people of Rwanda carried out a social revolution in 1959 against the autocratic power of the Tutsi minority and the stifling feudal yoke. No people, however docile, can agree to be slaves once again.

What the people of Rwanda need now is peace, through an end to war and through national reconciliation. This means that there has to be a candid dialogue between the Rwandese Government and the Rwandese Patriotic Front. It goes without saying that military hostilities and inter-ethnic violence must first cease.

One of the prime tasks of the Government of Rwanda is to ensure peace and security for its people. That is why as soon as it took power it appealed to the RPF to accept a cease-fire. The Government also took strong measures to stop inter-ethnic violence which was spreading throughout the country. Messages calling for peace were broadcast over the radio. The President of the Republic, the Prime Minister and members of the Government criss-crossed the country, holding meetings calling for peace.

It is true that the killing has now stopped in those areas where there is no fighting, but not in areas where the fighting continues. Indeed, the RPF turned down offers of a cease-fire, including offers by the Facilitator, the President of Tanzania, His Excellency Mr. Ali Hassan Mwinyi.

Seizing power by force has become an obsession for the RPF, which is systematically massacring people, particularly Hutus, who refuse to support it. The areas it has infiltrated have become killing fields. The people of the districts of Byumba and Kibungo have fled en masse to escape the merciless massacres of the RPF. More than 250,000 have found refuge in Tanzania, and there would have been more had the RPF not blocked the bridge over the river at the border.

The fate of those who did not flee is well-known. They were gathered together and collectively massacred by machine gun or grenade, as is the custom of the RPF. It is said that some RPF fighters eat the hearts of men they have killed in order to become invincible.

Can the RPF exile more than 6 million Hutu? Of course not. But there will be a catastrophe if the RPF does not abandon its logic of war and if it does not agree to enter into dialogue with the Rwandese Government, the sole legitimate representative of the Rwandese people, who fully support it.

Faced with this intransigence, the international community - especially the Security Council - must shoulder its responsibilities by compelling the RPF to enter into dialogue with the Government so as to bring about an immediate cease-fire.

The Rwandese Government is willing to conclude a cease-fire agreement with the RPF immediately. Such an agreement, guaranteed by the international community, and especially the United Nations, should make it possible for the two armies to resume the positions they held before 6 April 1994.

Moreover, the RPF battalion that was in Kigali to protect its leaders should not be reconstituted. For one thing, its leaders have returned to Mulindi, the headquarters of the Inkotanyi; and for another, it has been shown that the battalion participated in the war and in massacring the civilian population of the city of Kigali.

The Rwandese Government believes that the only way of ensuring respect for a cease-fire is the

establishment in Rwanda of an international buffer force made up of troops from truly neutral countries and excluding Rwanda's neighbours. Such a force would be created by expanding the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) and strengthening its means. The Rwandese Government believes that the Security Council should seriously consider this approach in establishing such a buffer force. The Rwandese Government nonetheless welcomes the consensus achieved on certain points relating to the expansion of UNAMIR to allow it to contribute to the security and protection of the civilian population and deliveries of humanitarian assistance.

The Rwandese Government is convinced that the cease-fire will not be respected nor the Rwandese conflict resolved until Uganda ends its aggression against Rwanda and stops supplying war *matériel* and troops to the RPF. The Security Council should ensure that this occurs.

In this connection, the Rwandese Government has conveyed to the Council documents clearly showing Uganda's involvement in the Rwandese conflict. To prevent that country once and for all from destabilizing Rwanda and other countries of the region, it is urgent that an arms embargo be imposed upon it. It is upon Uganda that a military embargo must be imposed, and not upon Rwanda. It is not the victim who should be punished but the aggressor. The embargo against Rwanda would be tantamount to direct support for Ugandan aggression. The RPF would continue to receive its weapons and would not stop massacring civilians until it had come to power by force. But what good what it serve to take power against the will of the Rwandese people? An embargo against Rwanda would violate the Charter of the United Nations, which enshrines the principle of self-defence. Thus, the embargo should be considered against the aggressor when the question of Ugandan aggression against Rwanda is considered.

No one is more tired of the war than the people of Rwanda, but neither is anyone more devoted to freedom and democracy than this people victimized by nearly four years of externally-imposed war. It is to offer relief to this people in its misery and to build a better future that the Rwandese Government remains committed and determined to resume dialogue with the RPF on the basis of the Arusha Peace Agreement, which is the point of departure for reaching a lasting peace and national reconciliation.

In this connection, the international community will continue to play a central role, either at the level of the

Agreement and compliance with it or at the level of humanitarian assistance and national reconstruction. I take this opportunity to reiterate the sincere thanks of the Government of Rwanda to all friendly countries, international organizations, non-governmental organizations and all people devoted to peace and justice who have given their all to help the Rwandese people find peace once again and who have spared no effort, at the risk of their own lives, to ease the suffering of the many refugees and those displaced by war. I should like here to pay a particular tribute to the International Committee of the Red Cross, which deemed it necessary to remain with the Rwandese people. I say "thank you" to them and urge them to stay to continue to do even more, because our needs are immense, faced as we are with over 2 million people on the road to exile because of this absurd and senseless war.

That is the message of the battered and torn people of Rwanda, which desires peace and national and reconciliation and rejects war and enslavement.

The President: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Rwanda for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Al-Khussaiby (Oman): My delegation has already congratulated you in the Council's informal consultations, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for this month. I assure you of my delegation's fullest cooperation and support in order to facilitate your task.

I would like to express our gratitude to the Permanent Representative of New Zealand for the way he steered our work last month.

Regarding the item currently under discussion, my delegation has already expressed its profound regret over the tragic incident that claimed the lives of two African Presidents - the President of Rwanda and the President of Burundi - on 6 April 1994, and the subsequent events of gruesome killings and massacres taking place in Rwanda on a large scale to this date.

It is regrettable that all efforts undertaken by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Force Commander of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), the Organization of African Unity and the neighbouring States to bring about a cease-fire agreement between the parties have been of no avail.

In this context, my delegation would like to stress that the achievement of peace in Rwanda lies in the hands of the Rwandese parties themselves. Hence, my delegation believes that it is crucial for both conflicting parties in Rwanda to demonstrate political will and a sincere desire to achieve a cease-fire and, moreover, in continuation of a dialogue in order to implement the Arusha Peace Agreement, which constitutes the most suitable framework for bringing the ongoing conflict in Rwanda to an end.

The current crisis, which is in itself a human tragedy, has unfortunately resulted in the killings of thousands of innocent civilians, including women, children and elderly people, and has caused the internal displacement of a huge number of people, not to mention the mass exodus of refugees to neighbouring countries. My delegation is therefore of the view that the most urgent measures to be taken at this juncture are to extend all forms of urgent humanitarian assistance, particularly food and medical aid, to the displaced people and refugees, and to all those who are in need in Rwanda.

My delegation also stresses the importance of coordinating these efforts with the Organization of African Unity and the necessity of ensuring full cooperation from both parties to the conflict in establishing Kigali Airport as a neutral zone and keeping it open at all times for humanitarian relief.

The United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) has exerted strenuous efforts in the most difficult conditions in order to help the people of Rwanda through this crisis. Despite our hesitation to involve peace-keeping forces in internal disputes, and in view of our desire to see a more successful UNAMIR, we support its expansion and the amendment of its mandate in order to enable it to contribute to the security and protection of civilians in Rwanda, as well as the safeguarding of the distribution of relief supplies and of the humanitarian relief operations.

While believing that the notion of the arms embargo and military assistance would not bring the satisfactory results expected of it at this stage or in the foreseeable future, my delegation fully supports this endeavour and considers it an important step in the right direction to contain the conflict and to halt its proliferation to other areas.

In view of the above, my delegation will vote in favour of section B of the draft resolution and of the draft resolution as a whole.

The President: I thank the representative of Oman for his kind words addressed to my predecessor and to me.

Mr. Niaz (Pakistan): It is a source of great pride for my delegation to see you, Sir, representative of a brotherly non-aligned country, presiding over the affairs of the Security Council with such aplomb and ability. The Pakistan delegation will continue to extend to you its unwavering support.

Let me also avail myself of this opportunity to express our appreciation for the skill and dedication with which the Permanent Representative of New Zealand, His Excellency Ambassador Colin Keating, steered the Security Council during the month of April.

After the horrific and gruesome violence and killings that erupted in Rwanda in the aftermath of the tragic deaths of the Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi in an air crash on 6 April 1994, the reaction of the Security Council was to cut down the strength of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) in that country. Thus it was by no means easy to arrive at the draft resolution before us, which envisages the expansion of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda to a force level of 5,500 troops.

It is our sincere hope that personnel for the increased force will be offered and dispatched to their areas of duty within a matter of days. The carnage let loose in Rwanda and the humanitarian nightmare which that country has become cannot brook any delay. At the same time, we also appeal to the parties in Rwanda to heed the international calls for restraint and reason. There is no doubt that without the cooperation of the warring parties as well as the people of Rwanda the enhanced UNAMIR will not be able to achieve much.

The situation into which the contributing countries will be sending their troops is indeed highly dangerous. It is therefore essential not only that UNAMIR be adequately equipped in terms of armaments, but also that it be given clear-cut rules of engagement under which its troops can effectively defend themselves or those they are required to protect.

The draft resolution before us is quite clear on the mandate for the revamped UNAMIR, and we hope that there will be no confusion in this regard. The restriction being placed on the supply of arms and ammunition to

Rwanda is also very timely. We hope that it will be scrupulously observed.

My delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us in the hope that the strengthened UNAMIR will be able to help stabilize the situation in Rwanda and that the international and regional efforts at securing a cease-fire and the reinstitution of a peaceful political process in that country will soon bear fruit. The pressure to withdraw UNAMIR could, however, mount once again if the Rwandese parties fail to bring the hostilities and killings to an end within a reasonable period. That would mean abandoning the people of Rwanda to chaos and mayhem, the entire responsibility for which will lie with the leaders of Rwanda.

The President: I thank the representative of Pakistan for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Olhaye (Djibouti): If there is a positive development in the relentless Rwandan tragedy, it is the apparently universal recognition that in some significant way the international community must now become directly involved. The approach of letting events run their course while diplomatic attempts were intensified to bring the Rwanda Government and the Patriotic Front to the negotiating table has, in the light of the seemingly diametrically opposed positions held by the combatants, proved fruitless. The resulting level of violence, death and displacement now qualifies as perhaps the greatest human tragedy in so short a time period in our century. The combined efforts of non-governmental organizations, surrounding States and the United Nations system to provide humanitarian relief fail to match the rising needs created by this catastrophe. It clearly constitutes, as the draft resolution before us maintains, a serious threat to peace and security in the region, which must be addressed.

The Secretary-General's *aide-mémoire* of 9 May underscores the rapidly deteriorating situation in Rwanda, which, he states, it is imperative to stop. The heavy fighting, combined with the effects of a serious drought, has produced a catastrophic food shortage along with the other consequences of the war. Based upon a set of assumptions, the Secretary-General correctly recommends a revision in the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) and an upward adjustment in its numerical composition. The draft resolution before us, however, only partially addresses this requirement, with the hope that the whole spectrum of deployment will have been taken care of shortly after the next report of the Secretary-General.

In the mean time, the job of the United Nations will be to remove the innocent from harm's way and protect them during this process, while responding forcefully only to direct attacks upon itself or the relief efforts. The mandate will not authorize the use of force to stop ethnic massacres and bloodshed.

My delegation would like to agree with this scenario but, in truth, finds it difficult to accept. We believe the warring parties are of a mind to continue hostilities until there is a significant destruction of the opponent and his capability. As it presently appears, it may be a considerable period of time before we arrive at such a point, until when we can expect the level of destruction and death to continue at unacceptable levels.

Certainly the heaviest burden for this undertaking must be assumed by the countries of Africa, which we feel is possible with the cooperation and assistance of other Member States on an urgent basis. It is indeed a sad reflection on the state of collective security if this capability does not exist and cannot be expeditiously mobilized in the face of such relentless destruction and death. Without these measures, we believe the fighting will continue until little is left, possibly with contagious consequences for neighbouring countries. The fighting must be stopped and law and order in this tiny country restored before there is really no country left.

We fully support the call of the draft resolution on Member States to restrict the sale of arms and related material to any of the Rwanda parties. Halting such shipments will be crucial to the overall success of UNAMIR, whatever that may be.

Although, as is clear, my delegation would like to see a stronger mandate for UNAMIR, time is crucial at the moment. It is critical that we take immediate steps to halt the progression of fighting, aid those innocent civilians displaced by the war and control vital geographic assets in Rwanda, as the draft resolution proposes. Should the Secretary-General find that the measures called for are insufficient, it may be possible in the near future to upgrade UNAMIR's mandate to include more authority to halt the fighting.

With some reluctance, therefore, and in the hope of immediate measures being taken, my delegation supports this draft resolution on Rwanda.

Mr. Li Zhaoxing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): On 4 August 1993 the Rwanda Government and the Rwandese Patriotic Front signed a Peace Agreement in Arusha, and following this development the Security Council adopted resolution 872 (1993) on the establishment of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), which reflected the support of the international community for the peace process of Rwanda. For a time after that the situation in Rwanda witnessed some positive developments.

Unfortunately, since the death of His Excellency Major-General Habyarimana, President of the Rwandese Republic, and Mr. Ntaryamira, President of the Republic of Burundi, the situation in Rwanda has worsened quickly, with civil war engulfing the whole country and its people being plunged into an abyss of misery, creating a huge exodus of refugees into neighbouring countries. The humanitarian situation in the country is getting increasingly grave. The Chinese delegation is greatly concerned with these developments.

Yet the international community has not forgotten the sufferings of the Rwandese people. The United Nations, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the States neighbouring Rwanda have made various efforts to help the two Rwandese sides to achieve a cease-fire and resume, through negotiations, the peace process initiated by the Arusha Peace Agreement. Meanwhile, humanitarian relief supplies are being delivered to the refugees in a steady flow. Based on humanitarian considerations, the Security Council has agreed, after repeated consultations, to expand the mandate of UNAMIR and increase the number of its personnel with a view to improving the humanitarian situation and the security environment in Rwanda, and alleviating the people's suffering. This is a reflection of the international community's good will and its sincere desire to create conditions for the early restoration of peace and security in that country.

From the start, we have followed closely the development of the situation in Rwanda, and we sincerely hope that the civil war will be brought to an early end and that peace and stability will be restored, thus enabling Rwanda to embark on the road of political stability and economic development.

In order to realize the objective of the draft resolution and the final goal of national peace in Rwanda, we hold the following views:

First, the conflicting Rwandese parties should cease forthwith massacring each other and agree to an effective and lasting cease-fire so as to create the conditions necessary for an improvement in the humanitarian situation and the settlement of the conflict through negotiations.

Secondly, the Arusha Peace Agreement is the framework and bridge agreed by the two Rwandese sides for the peaceful settlement of the conflict in Rwanda. The two sides should accept the futility of resolving the question of Rwanda by military means and should understand that national reconciliation can be achieved only when swords are genuinely turned to ploughshares after a cease-fire and when they recommit themselves to resuming the peace process initiated by Arusha Peace Agreement.

Thirdly, the two sides should closely cooperate with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, with UNAMIR and with the international community's peace endeavour. At the same time, they should adopt every possible measure to ensure the safety of United Nations personnel and of those engaged in humanitarian relief activities.

Fourthly, in the course of settling the crisis in Rwanda, attention should continue to be given to the role of the OAU and the countries neighbouring Rwanda. They should be encouraged to exert positive political influence and urge the parties to make further contributions to the achievement of a cease-fire and to the resumption of the peace process in Rwanda.

Mr. Vorontsov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): We in the Russian Federation are deeply concerned at the scope and intensity of the tragedy in Rwanda, which has already taken the lives of tens of thousands of peaceful, defenceless people. The tragedy is all the worse in the light of the difficult situation of the nearly 2 million displaced persons and refugees, many of whom have been forced to leave the country and seek refuge in neighbouring States.

We share the view of the Secretary-General that the carnage in Rwanda, which has brought that country's people unspeakable suffering, is a humanitarian catastrophe of unprecedented scope. Hence, the Security Council was correct to focus its attention on resolving this urgent aspect of the problem of Rwanda.

Because of the urgent need for United Nations action to deal with this severe humanitarian crisis and to save thousands of lives, and taking account of the positions of the other members of the Security Council, the Russian delegation participated actively in drafting the text before the Council, and is among its sponsors. At the same time, during the Council's preparation of the draft resolution, we did not conceal our concern that the decision to expand the United Nations operation in Rwanda was being taken without due account for a number of basic criteria for carrying out peace-keeping operations, criteria confirmed in the course of United Nations activities and approved by the Council in the statement issued by its President on 3 May 1994. In that connection, we are particularly pleased by today's changes and additions to the draft resolution, which go towards addressing the concerns we had expressed.

In that context, we must affirm that, in our view, a most important factor for ensuring the success of the operation is the unconditional cooperation of both Rwandese parties, as stressed in the report of the Secretary-General (S/1994/565). We are pleased that this aspect is reflected in the text of the draft resolution.

We proceed from the premise that the central element of the forthcoming operation is the establishment of secure humanitarian areas, primarily in Rwanda's border areas, for the protection of refugees and displaced persons and of members of the civilian population under threat. In that connection, we note that the report of the Secretary-General refers to the provision of assistance to those requiring it in the interior of the country - not instead of but in addition to the establishment of these secure humanitarian areas. The concept of these secure humanitarian areas will undoubtedly make it easier to establish them fairly quickly and will not require such a large United Nations force.

We also view as particularly important the draft resolution's provision with respect to the imposition of an arms embargo on Rwanda; this is critical in the absence of a cease-fire. Here, special responsibility for effective implementation will lie with neighbouring African States, particularly with respect to not permitting the sale or delivery of weapons and not permitting the transit of weapons through their territory.

In the light of the urgent humanitarian nature of this United Nations operation, I wish to stress particularly that it must be carried out quickly and efficiently so that it can be successfully concluded in a short time. If during that

time the conditions necessary for continuing the peace-keeping operation do not come about in Rwanda, and if there is no progress towards a political settlement, the Security Council will have to give serious thought to what further action it should take. In that connection, we think it important that in the draft resolution the Council requests the Secretary-General to submit a report before we move to the next phase of the operation so that the Security Council can take the appropriate decision in the light of developments.

We also draw special attention to the need to ensure that the operation is carried out economically.

We are thoroughly convinced of the need for close coordination between the efforts of the Secretary-General and those of the Organization of African Unity and the neighbours of Rwanda - which in our view have far from exhausted the opportunities to bring influence to bear on the Rwandese parties with a view to a swift end to the senseless carnage, a settlement of the conflict, and the restoration of the peace process in Rwanda.

Russia strongly condemns efforts to resolve the conflict in Rwanda by force, and advocates an immediate end to the violence and the fighting in that country. We are willing closely to coordinate our activities in the Security Council and our bilateral activities with the efforts of all members of the world community, the Organization of African Unity and African States, with a view to dealing with this grave crisis in Rwanda. We intend to do everything possible to ensure that peace and concord will reign there once more.

In that connection, I wish to announce that the Government of the Russian Federation has decided to make available through the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Tanzania a transport unit in Mwanza to provide emergency humanitarian assistance for refugees from Rwanda.

The President: I shall now put to the vote section B of the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/571.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of

Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Against:

Rwanda

The President: There were 14 votes in favour and one against. Section B of the draft resolution has been adopted.

I shall now put the rest of the draft resolution to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The rest of the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/571 has been adopted unanimously.

Since all the sections of the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/571, as orally revised in its provisional form, have been adopted, may I take it that the draft resolution as a whole has been adopted?

There being no objection, it is so decided.

The text of the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/571, as orally revised in its provisional form, has been adopted as resolution 918 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Mérimée (France) (interpretation from French): Rwanda is experiencing one of the most tragic periods in its history. Tens of thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, of civilians have been massacred. None of the traditional safe havens - churches, hospitals or headquarters of humanitarian organizations - have been spared in this unleashing of violence. Faced with a humanitarian catastrophe of such magnitude the international community could not fail to react.

The Security Council had been compelled to make troop reductions in the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), which had been prevented from fulfilling its mandate. My delegation took that decision reluctantly and underscored at the time that it was a temporary measure.

By voting today in favour of resolution 918 (1994), which decides to expand UNAMIR up to 5,500 troops, my delegation is expressing its will to help the Rwandese people to find peace and security once again. The objective is first of all humanitarian. It is a question of ensuring the protection of the civilian population and allowing the delivery of humanitarian assistance. The longer-term objective of the United Nations is, however, political. The United Nations is determined to contribute, in due course, to the resumption of the peace process within the framework of the Arusha Agreement, which remains the only way to resolve the crisis in Rwanda.

France pays tribute to the peace efforts being made by the countries of the region and especially the Tanzanian Facilitator.

My delegation also pays tribute to the courage and determination of the UNAMIR troops, who, under the authority of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and of the Force Commander, have endeavoured to protect the civilian populations, to obtain a cease-fire agreement and to contribute to the resumption of dialogue between the parties.

France urgently appeals for an end to the massacres. It urges the parties to conclude a cease-fire and to cooperate with UNAMIR to restore peace to the country.

Mr. Keating (New Zealand): I need to begin, I regret, by saying that in the view of my delegation the first speaker in our debate should not have spoken. I say this for two reasons. First, in the view of my delegation he does not represent a State. He has no legitimacy and is merely the mouthpiece of a faction. He should not have been seated in a privileged position at this table. Secondly, he has, in the view of my delegation, given us a shameful distortion of the truth.

My delegation voted in favour of resolution 918 (1994), but I cannot conceal its disappointment that the resolution only approves a very modest first phase of the expanded United Nations presence which we believe is essential in Rwanda.

True, there are some very important and positive elements in this resolution. It contains a commitment to go back to Rwanda with a new mandate to protect civilians at risk and to provide security for humanitarian relief operations. It also signals quite clearly that the United Nations presence should be sufficiently robust and that force will be used if necessary against those who threaten protected sites and populations. It imposes a mandatory arms embargo on Rwanda, and it requests a report as soon as possible from the Secretary-General on the investigation of war crimes and genocide committed in Rwanda over the past four weeks. But the resolution stops short of what is really necessary.

Ten days ago my delegation proposed a draft resolution which envisaged all of the elements in this text, but which contained, in addition, one further key element: the commitment of the Council to an operation that would make a start on the task of protecting civilians at risk in various locations in the interior of Rwanda. No one can seriously expect the United Nations to provide support for every civilian at risk in Rwanda. Even if the force were fully deployed as we would like, it will take time and it will be difficult to cover all of the country. We all know that any operation can only do what is possible within available resources.

But, in our view, there is no need for the Council to condition its agreement by a requirement for further reports and further review. New Zealand would be the first to agree that there needs to be a detailed, hands-on process of interaction between the Council and the Secretariat to update and fine-tune the operational concept as planning is finalized in the period prior to deployment. Indeed, we would like to see institutional arrangements within the Council for a more hands-on approach to all of the complex operations supervised by the Council. But there was no need in this case to condition the deployment as has been done in operative paragraph 6.

We urge that the Secretary-General's report, under operative paragraph 6, be submitted as soon as possible and we also urge that the second phase deployment of the expanded UNAMIR be undertaken quickly. The burden now falls on the Council to make this work, and we will be looking to all members of the Council to live up to the expectations that have been created.

Sir David Hannay (United Kingdom): I would like to say that my delegation, too, regrets the tone and the content of the first statement that was made to the Council this evening in the name of the Government of Rwanda.

We would have wished to see a condemnation of the atrocities that have taken place, many of them in parts of the country controlled by that Government, in a less perfunctory manner than was done.

The world has been appalled by the scale of the tragedy which has occurred in Rwanda. It is not a tragedy to which there is any easy international response. The United Nations cannot impose an end to the bloodshed. But neither can it stand idly by. The Force Commander of UNAMIR and its personnel have been doing a tremendous job in the most difficult of circumstances. It is right that new tasks should now be added to UNAMIR's mandate to help the civilian population. The priority now must be to ensure the early deployment of the troops needed for these tasks.

The focus of this expanded United Nations operation will rightly be humanitarian. It is essential to ensure the rapid and effective delivery of sufficient humanitarian aid both to those displaced within Rwanda and to the refugees in the neighbouring countries. We hope that all donors will contribute generously to this programme. My own Government has given some \$5 million since the beginning of last month to humanitarian relief in and around Rwanda.

We must not lose sight of the need to achieve a cease-fire between the parties and to get the peace process back on track. The Arusha Agreement remains the only viable basis for national reconciliation in Rwanda. We welcome in this context the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative and of the OAU and neighbouring States, and encourage them to continue to work constructively towards this goal.

In the meantime, both sides to the dispute must cooperate with the United Nations in the implementation of the mandate which this Council has just given to UNAMIR. The parties cannot escape their responsibility for events in the areas which they control. Those controlling the areas in which the massacres have occurred must act, and act now, to stop the bloodshed. The Council's message on this, in its statement of 30th April and in the present resolution, has been absolutely clear cut and it needs to be heeded.

Mr. Inderfurth (United States): The cries of the victims in Rwanda have been heard calling upon the Security Council to act. The sheer magnitude of the humanitarian disaster in that tragic country demands action. This Council has struggled to formulate a

response that is both appropriate and effective. To do so we went to extraordinary lengths today for two reasons.

First, the United States wants the United Nations to succeed in Rwanda, and in all its peace-keeping operations. To ensure its success, we want to bring the ends and means of the Council's resolutions into balance.

Secondly, we believe that the guidelines outlined in this Council's presidential statement of 3 May are the right way to evaluate the viability of a mission, and we want to make sure that, to the extent possible, we follow that process in our deliberations.

That is why, in the next report of the Secretary-General on Rwanda, I would expect the following factors to be closely examined: a well defined concept of operations; availability of resources; consent of the parties; progress towards a cease-fire; and the duration of the mandate.

With this resolution, my Government believes the Council has taken the right steps to begin to bring aid and hope to the innocent victims. But whatever efforts the United Nations may undertake, the true key to the problems in Rwanda is in the hands of the Rwandese people. In Rwanda, this means that the killing - by all parties - must stop. The killing must stop, not only between armed combatants, but especially the massacres of unarmed civilians in which tens of thousands have already been killed. Further, the parties must consent to unimpeded United Nations operations providing humanitarian assistance to and protection for displaced persons, and refugees. In this regard, it is critical that all parties respect absolutely the inviolability of United Nations personnel and peacekeepers. If the parties can demonstrate their willingness and ability to meet these simple but vital requirements for an effective United Nations peacekeeping operation, then the international community will be willing and able to help.

The situation in Rwanda is horrifying, difficult and very much in flux. The resolution we have adopted today recognizes the necessity for both a rapid and continually refined response to best deal with the situation in the country. We hope the Council's action will be the impetus to convince the parties to end the bloodshed immediately. If not, we will look to further reports of the Secretary-General on how best to carry out today's decision. In this spirit of hope measured with concern, the United States supports today's actions of the Council.

Mr. Valle (Brazil): Since the beginning of April, events in Rwanda have been evolving tragically. Thousands of innocent civilians have been killed, and more than a million people have been displaced by the ensuing violence. We are witnessing an appalling humanitarian crisis of gigantic proportions. The Security Council has been seized of the matter since the resumption of the conflict, and has been continuously addressing the situation in order to be able to respond through concrete action.

Unfortunately, the commendable efforts undertaken by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the UNAMIR Force Commander, as well as those by the Organization of African Unity, to bring about a cease-fire agreement between the parties have yet to bear fruit.

In view of the prevailing conditions, we agree with the Secretary-General's view that it is essential that the United Nations consider what measures it can adopt even before a cease-fire is achieved. For this reason, my Government has voted in favour of resolution 918 (1994) to expand UNAMIR's mandate so that it can contribute to the security and protection of displaced persons, refugees and civilians at risk in Rwanda.

Furthermore, UNAMIR will be mandated to provide security to and support for the distribution of relief supplies and humanitarian relief operations. It is clear that UNAMIR will be dedicated to ensuring means for the provision of emergency relief aid to those in need in Rwanda as a priority task. This, however, should not be the sole objective of its presence in that beleaguered country. UNAMIR should also continue to act as an intermediary between the parties, so that not only can an immediate cease-fire be reached, but also the peace process under the Arusha Peace Agreement can be promptly resumed.

My delegation supports the expeditious deployment of the expanded force of UNAMIR as essential for the successful implementation of its mandate, which has been broadened by the resolution this Council has just adopted. Brazil has supported the adoption of resolution 918 (1994), inspired by the expectation that renewed UNAMIR efforts will be able to relieve the plight of millions in Rwanda and to respond to the urgent need to restore conditions for the resumption of the peace process.

Mr. Cardenas (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Since the events of 6 April 1994, with the violence and the atrocious, systematic massacres that were unleashed, Rwanda has been submerged in a humanitarian crisis of enormous proportions. The detailed report that the Secretary-General has submitted to us in connection with the situation in Rwanda tells us that almost 2 million persons have been displaced and that 300,000 more have sought refuge in neighbouring countries.

Some sources estimate the deaths at approximately 200,000 persons. This horrifying situation - for which there can be no justification whatsoever, regardless of those that have been put forward this evening - has made it absolutely essential for the Security Council to consider the adoption of measures to be implemented immediately in order to meet the most urgent needs of the civilians at risk in Rwanda, including the many refugees and displaced persons, contributing to their protection and security and providing support and aid in the delivery of humanitarian assistance.

It is in this humanitarian context that the Security Council has decided to expand the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) under resolution 912 (1994) and to expand the force up to a level of 5,500 troops through a progressive deployment, to be carried out stage by stage. We stress the importance of UNAMIR's having the cooperation of the parties in the fulfilment of its mandate and especially in the task of ensuring the unhindered delivery of humanitarian assistance to those in need.

In addition, the parties must show absolute respect for the security of the personnel of UNAMIR and of those who are carrying out tasks of a humanitarian nature in Rwanda.

This solution is aimed only at alleviating the humanitarian tragedy to which we have referred. It is up to the parties to the conflict to rechannel the Arusha peace process in search of reconciliation, which, though difficult, is not impossible. This is why we consider it essential that efforts be made towards a cease-fire, and that in this context the Security Council establish a mandatory arms embargo on Rwanda and call on international organizations to comply strictly with it.

We hope that the systematic violations of humanitarian law in Rwanda as well as all the brutal violations of the right to life and property, which have astounded the whole world, will be fully investigated. In this respect, we commend the efforts by the High Commissioner for Human

Rights, Ambassador José Ayala Lasso, in the important area which is the *raison d'être* of his responsibilities.

Before concluding, I also want to emphasize the initiatives that have been taken by the Organization of African Unity with a view to putting an end to the conflict, and to note the courage of UNAMIR troops. Given the gravity of the events, we also appeal to the entire international community to generously step up its humanitarian assistance to the people of Rwanda.

Mr. Yañez Barnuevo (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Spain is gratified by the adoption of resolution 918 (1994), co-sponsored by the delegation of Spain. Based upon a proposal by the Secretary-General, the resolution expands the mandate and the size of UNAMIR in order to contribute to the safety and protection of displaced persons, refugees and civilians at risk in Rwanda, and aims at providing support and security for the supply of emergency assistance and humanitarian aid.

Like the Council's declaration of 30 April, the resolution just adopted is the result of intensive debates in informal consultations that have shown the concern of the members of the Council at the deterioration of the humanitarian situation in Rwanda and the importance that we all attach to finding effective ways of alleviating the crisis of enormous dimensions that is afflicting that country.

It is necessary to emphasize the international community's repudiation of the violence that has afflicted Rwanda subsequent to the air crash that took the lives of the Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi. We strongly condemn the numerous killings of civilians that have taken place in Rwanda and that are still being committed with impunity.

The Government of Spain, which has made the protection of human rights one of the fundamental principles of its foreign policy, is horrified by the reports that have come from many non-governmental organizations and from the communications media of the systematic, generalized and manifest violations of international humanitarian law in Rwanda. That is why we associate ourselves with all the other members of the Council in recalling that the killing of members of an ethnic group with the intention of destroying that group in whole or in part constitutes a crime which is punishable under international law. Furthermore, any public and direct incitement to violence with the intention

of destroying a racial or ethnic group constitutes in and of itself a crime of that nature. This is why the Council has made an urgent appeal to the parties to cease immediately such acts of a grave nature, including incitements to violence that have been made through broadcasts that are known to all.

Like other members of the Council, we also regret that we have had to hear today, in the Council, reasoning which comes too close to an attempt to justify acts that we consider to be altogether unjustifiable.

The Spanish delegation will be closely following the evolution of events in Rwanda and in particular the humanitarian situation and the continued risks to the civilian population.

We therefore welcome the recent visit to the region by the High Commissioner of the United Nations for Human Rights, Ambassador Ayala Lasso, and we are awaiting with great interest the report that the Council has requested of the Secretary-General on the grave violations of international humanitarian law which have occurred throughout this conflict in Rwanda.

I also want to point out that the Foreign Ministers of the European Union have just adopted in Brussels a declaration which urges the parties immediately to put an end to the killing and to respect the Arusha Agreement, which remains the best basis for national reconciliation. The European Ministers also reaffirm their commitment to the provision of humanitarian assistance to all the population which is in need, and in this respect they have decided to send a high-level mission to the region.

The resolution which we have just adopted is just a first step in the search for a lasting solution to the conflict in Rwanda. Estimates of approximately 200,000 persons killed and approximately 2 million refugees will leave traces that will be hard to erase. It is time to appeal for common sense so that the parties may agree to a cease-fire and resume negotiations that will make it possible to get the peace process under way once again.

The stage-by-stage deployment of an expanded UNAMIR, with the active cooperation of the African countries and the remainder of the international community, will make it possible for the United Nations to fulfil its mandate with the utmost efficiency and will ensure the provision of humanitarian assistance to displaced persons, refugees and civilians at risk. The Rwandese parties must understand that the full implementation of the

UNAMIR mission depends, in the final analysis, on their support and cooperation and on their full respect for the security and freedom of movement of the members of UNAMIR and of humanitarian organizations.

Lastly, the imposition of a military embargo on Rwanda reaffirms the international community's resolve to contain the hostilities and to avoid an intensification of the conflict, a conflict which, if not controlled in time, could spread beyond the borders of that country, destabilizing neighbouring countries and having a highly negative impact on the entire region.

Therefore, everyone must work towards a political settlement of the conflict through the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, together with the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity and the countries of the region, in particular the President of Tanzania as the facilitator of the peace process.

It is our hope that the Rwandese parties, heeding the appeals of the international community, will cooperate in good faith with those efforts by concluding a cease-fire and resuming the Arusha peace process. If they do not do so, they will be assuming enormous responsibility *vis-à-vis* their people and the entire international community.

Mr. Kovanda (Czech Republic): The crocodiles in the Kagera river and the vultures over Rwanda have seldom had it so good. They are feeding on the bodies of the thousands upon thousands of children and women, hundreds of whom were pregnant, and men who have been hacked to death during the past six weeks by what has turned out to be a most vicious regime.

The massacres include 4,000 killed in Kibeho; 5,500 butchered in Cyahinda; 800 assassinated in Kiziguru; 500 slain in Rukira; 2,500 slaughtered in Kibungu; another 4,000 have been murdered in Shangi, a parish in Cyangugu, and 2,000 in Mibirizi, also in Cyangugu. This is the same Cyangugu where many thousands have apparently been trapped for weeks on end in a stadium without any relief. Surely one wonders whether the dead are not better off than the living.

These are just some of the massacres which we know of, thanks mostly to human rights organizations and the Catholic Church. One can only extrapolate the total number of victims. The Secretary-General has offered the estimate of 200,000 dead.

All reports indicate that these atrocities have been committed by Hutu cutthroats - and seldom has this word been so literally the right one - against their Tutsi neighbours. Now, there are those who would apportion blame "evenly"; those who would argue that there must also have been Tutsi atrocities against Hutus in this past month. And indeed, human rights organizations have assiduously sought direct evidence of massacres in territories controlled by the largely Tutsi Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF). So far, they have found very little such evidence.

So we have some 200,000 Tutsi lives lost, out of a total population of about 1 million - 20 per cent of all of Rwanda's Tutsis. Each of us can figure out how many lives such a percentage would represent in his own country for his own people. This situation is being described as a humanitarian crisis as though it were a famine or perhaps a natural disaster. In the view of my delegation, the proper description is genocide.

Now, as is well known, a civil war has been raging in Rwanda as well since 1990. But even a civil war, however awful by itself, is no excuse - never mind justification - for genocide. And, civil war or not, the hundreds of thousands of civilians who have fallen victim to the butchers were not at the front lines but far in the hinterland, with no visible connection to the RPF except for their ethnic background. Hence the real innocence of those whom we all too automatically describe as "innocent civilians".

The Arusha agreements of 1993 pointed a way to resolving the civil conflict. As a consequence of the Arusha Agreement, the Government controlled by President Habyarimana was expanded to include noted personalities who had opposed him politically. Foremost among them was the Prime Minister, Mrs. Agathe Uwilingiyimana. It bears recalling that she and other Hutu opposition personalities were among the first to fall victim to the horror unleashed by President Habyarimana's supporters after his death.

By whom? Who is it who has been committing these unspeakable atrocities? Certainly not the Rwandan people at large, Hutu or otherwise. These atrocities have been committed by the Presidential Guard created by President Habyarimana. They have been committed by elements of the Rwandese Government Forces loyal to him. They have been committed by the militia, the Gendarmerie. They have been committed on orders of people close to President Habyarimana and at the instigation of the

incendiary broadcasts of Radio Mille Collines. This radio station is private but it is owned by people close to the late President. Let there be no mistake: The mass media incitement to ethnic hatred mentioned in the preamble to our resolution has Radio Mille Collines specifically in mind.

We have requested the Secretary-General to present a report on investigations of the atrocities. Ambassador Ayala Lasso, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, is already actively involved with this issue. After we get the report, we will want to know who is responsible for the atrocities. Then we will want to know how those responsible will be brought to justice. For surely they cannot avoid justice.

Today, my delegation cosponsored a decision to move back into Rwanda - too late, for sure, for the hundreds of thousands who have lost their lives already, but in time, we hope, to curtail the continuation of brutalities. We are deciding to strengthen UNAMIR's numbers and to strengthen its mandate. Its first priority is to help the unfortunates who are in distress and danger in the hinterland. UNAMIR will not get involved in the civil war, even though a cease-fire would surely make its humanitarian job easier.

Last month, the Security Council was in absolute shock, stunned with disbelief at the viciousness of the massacres that broke out. Our first concern was for the safety of our vastly outmanned, outgunned, out-macheted and out-mandated UNAMIR. We reduced its strength, but not before losing 10 brave young men. Even with its reduced strength, UNAMIR has managed, among other things, to protect the lives - though hardly much more - of thousands upon thousands of wretched souls in Kigali. My Government salutes the courage of UNAMIR, the martyrdom of its lost comrades and the coolness of its commander. We also salute the indefatigable work of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) continuing efforts of non-governmental organizations, which have done so much to apprise us of the true nature of the conflicts in Rwanda.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Nigeria.

My delegation has made it clear on several occasions in the discussions on this subject that Rwanda's situation is an exceptionally tragic one requiring a solution which would, in large measure, have to be extraordinary. It is true that a desperate disease requires

a desperate cure. My delegation also remains convinced that, while the Organization of African Unity and the neighbouring countries have an important role to play in efforts to halt the ongoing carnage and restore peace in Rwanda, the United Nations has an even more critical role to play in galvanizing international assistance for that troubled country. Indeed, we believe that the credibility of the United Nations is not particularly well served if, in moments of crisis, the United Nations prevaricates and takes positions which, in hindsight, are sadly mistaken.

Nigeria sees the tasks now facing the international community in Rwanda as three-fold: humanitarian, security and political, all of which are closely interconnected. On the humanitarian level, urgent assistance is needed to attend to the needs of an estimated 2 million people who are internally displaced and the 1.5 million others suffering from the consequences of the severe famine and drought which confronted the country before the outbreak of the current hostilities.

In addition, there are thousands of Rwandan refugees in the neighbouring countries whose needs have to be urgently addressed.

At the level of security, international assistance is urgently needed to halt the ongoing carnage and provide a stable and secure environment. The provision of security is vital not only for the thousands of civilians and displaced persons, but also to facilitate the work of the United Nations and other humanitarian relief agencies in Rwanda.

At the level of political concern, international efforts - both of the United Nations and at the level of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) - must put in focus the larger objective of achieving an immediate cease-fire and a lasting political settlement within the framework of the Arusha Peace Agreement.

The resolution which we have just adopted makes a significant effort to address the pressing needs of Rwanda, particularly in the humanitarian sphere. In contrast to the drastic reduction of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) force level undertaken in resolution 912 (1994) of 21 April 1994, the present resolution authorizes the deployment of the UNAMIR force level up to 5,500 troops.

The focus of the expanded mission is humanitarian: first, to contribute to the security and protection of civilians and the establishment and maintenance of secure humanitarian areas, in particular for displaced persons and

refugees; and secondly, to provide security and support for the distribution of relief supplies and humanitarian relief operations. In the exercise of this role, the expanded UNAMIR is authorized to take action as appropriate to defend itself and other international personnel and others located in secure areas.

While the primary focus of the expanded UNAMIR is humanitarian, the present resolution also demands that all parties to the conflict immediately cease hostilities, agree to a cease-fire and bring an end to the mindless violence and carnage engulfing Rwanda. In this context, it invites the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, in coordination with the OAU and countries in the region, to continue their efforts to cultivate a political settlement in Rwanda within the framework of the Arusha Peace Agreement. My delegation believes that it is important that we address the wider political purpose of the United Nations involvement in Rwanda by helping to obtain a cease-fire and helping to promote the peace process.

Two additional important elements of the present resolution include a request for the Secretary-General to present a report on possible violations of international humanitarian law in Rwanda since the outbreak of current hostilities and the imposition of an arms embargo to prevent the sale and delivery of arms and related *matériel* of all types in Rwanda. We strongly believe these two measures would contribute to reducing the level of violence and thus foster the prospects of an early return to peace in the country.

In conclusion, we join in commending the efforts of those States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations which have continued to provide humanitarian and other assistance in Rwanda under extremely difficult circumstances. We commend also the untiring efforts of the OAU and the Tanzanian Government aimed at bringing the peace process back on track.

We urge Member States to respond promptly to the Secretary-General's request for logistical support capability for the rapid deployment of UNAMIR's expanded force level and its support in the field.

One final word: although Nigeria voted in favour of this resolution, we have reservations on two aspects. First, we are not entirely satisfied with the manner in which African issues that come before the Council tend generally to be treated. Secondly, we are unhappy with

the import of operative paragraph 7 of the present resolution, which would seem to imply that the second phase of UNAMIR's deployment will be dependent on a number of conditionalities, including a further decision or action by the Council. Our own expectation is that the second phase of UNAMIR's deployment will achieve the force level of 5,500 troops, or as close to that as possible and necessary, as called for by the Secretary-General in his report. In this regard, Nigeria has already indicated its intention to contribute troops to an expanded UNAMIR. We therefore call on Member States to respond urgently and favourably to the Secretary-General's request.

We call on the international community not to abandon the innocent civilians in Rwanda, because to let them down would be to let ourselves down. After all, we are part of the same common humanity.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 1.45 a.m.



Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

3378th Meeting

 Monday, 23 May 1994, 5.25 p.m.
 New York

Provisional

<i>President:</i>	Mr. Gambari	(Nigeria)
<i>Members:</i>	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Brazil	Mr. Fujita
	China	Mr. Chen Jian
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. MÉRIMÉE
	New Zealand	Mr. McKinnon
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Vorontsov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bizimana
	Spain	Mr. Yañez Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The situation in Liberia

 Fourth progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia
 (S/1994/588)

The meeting was called to order at 5.25 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Liberia

Fourth progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (S/1994/588)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Liberia in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Bull (Liberia) took a place at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the fourth progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia, document S/1994/588.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1994/594, which contains the text of a letter dated 18 May 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Liberia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council welcomes the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Liberia dated 18 May 1994 (S/1994/588).

"In this connection, the Council notes with satisfaction the full installation of the Council of State

of the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG), as well as indications that the transitional government has begun to assume its responsibilities and functions throughout the country.

"The Council commends the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) and the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) for their contributions to the demobilization and disarmament efforts in Liberia, a critical requirement of the Cotonou Agreement.

"The Council notes with concern, however, the continued fighting among and within factions. Political differences and renewed violence among and within certain factions have caused the disarmament process to come to a virtual halt. The ongoing hostilities make it very difficult for UNOMIL to accomplish critical elements of its mandate and prevent the peace-keeping troops of the Cease-Fire Monitoring Group of the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOMOG) from carrying out their functions regarding disarmament and demobilization, a situation which directly threatens the ability of the parties to maintain the timetable outlined in the Cotonou Agreement and the communiqué of 15 February 1994.

"In the light of these developments, the Council calls upon the parties to resolve their differences within the forum of the transitional government and the Cotonou Agreement, to end any hostilities and to accelerate the pace of disarmament with the aim of bringing it to a successful conclusion, all of which are crucial to creating suitable conditions for elections. The Council wishes to remind the parties of the importance it attaches to the holding of those elections on 7 September 1994.

"The Council reaffirms its intention to review the situation in Liberia again on or before 30 June 1994 including the role played by UNOMIL, such review to include whether sufficient progress has been made in implementing the revised timetable of the Peace Agreement to warrant continued UNOMIL involvement, in particular, the effective operation of the Liberian National Transitional Government, progress in carrying out disarmament and demobilization, and preparations for the holding of elections on 7 September 1994. In accordance with the terms of its resolution 911 of

21 April 1994, the Council requests the Secretary-General to prepare options by 30 June 1994 regarding the future implementation of UNOMIL's mandate and its continued operations.

"The Council reminds the parties that the ultimate responsibility for the success of the peace process in Liberia rests with them and with the Liberian people. It urges them to respect fully the terms of the Cotonou Agreement and reaffirms its

expectation that the parties will continue to make every effort to achieve a lasting peace in Liberia."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1994/25.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.

**Security Council**

Forty-seventh Year

3378th Meeting

Monday, 23 May 1994, 5.25 p.m.

New York

Corrigendum

Cover page should read:

President: . Mr. Gambari (Nigeria)

Members: Argentina Mr. Cardenas
Brazil Mr. Fujita
China Mr. Chen Jian
Czech Republic Mr. Kovanda
Djibouti Mr. Olhaye
France Mr. Mérimée
New Zealand Mr. van Bohemen
Oman Mr. Al-Khussaiby
Pakistan Mr. Marker
Russian Federation Mr. Vorontsov
Rwanda Mr. Bizimana
Spain Mr. Yañez Barnuevo
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland Mr. Gomersall
United States of America Mrs. Albright

Agenda**The situation in Liberia**

Fourth progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia
(S/1994/588)



Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

3379th Meeting

Wednesday, 25 May 1994, 5.25 p.m.

New York

Provisional

<i>President:</i>	Mr. Kingibe	(Nigeria)
<i>Members:</i>	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. MÉRIMÉE
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Vorontsov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bizimana
	Spain	Mr. Yañez Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mr. Gnehm

Agenda

The question of South Africa

Letter dated 23 May 1994 from the Permanent Representative of South Africa to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/606)

The meeting was called to order at 5.25 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The question of South Africa

Letter dated 23 May 1994 from the Permanent Representative of South Africa to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/606)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Algeria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Botswana, the Congo, Egypt, Greece, India, Kenya, Malaysia, Morocco, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, the United Republic of Tanzania, Tunisia, Zambia and Zimbabwe, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Mr. Thabo Mbeki, First Executive Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa, was escorted to a place at the Security Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Lamamra (Algeria), Mr. Misić (Bosnia and Herzegovina), Mr. Legwaila (Botswana), Mr. Abibi (Congo), Mrs. Hassan (Egypt), Mr. Vassilakis (Greece), Mr. Ansari (India), Mr. Muthaura (Kenya), Mr. Razali (Malaysia), Mr. Snoussi (Morocco), Mr. Cissé (Senegal), Mr. Bangura (Sierra Leone), Mr. Mwambulukutu (United Republic of Tanzania), Mr. Abdellah (Tunisia), Mr. Musuka (Zambia) and Mr. Mumbengegwi (Zimbabwe) took places at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: I should like to inform that Council that I have received a letter dated 25 May 1994 from the Deputy Permanent Representative of Nigeria, which reads as follows:

"On behalf of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, I have the honour to request that the Security Council extend an invitation to Mr. Abdul Minty, Director of

the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure in the course of the Council's consideration of the question of South Africa."

That letter will be published as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/1994/618.

If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 to Mr. Minty.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the letter dated 18 May 1994 from the President of the Republic of South Africa addressed to the President of the Security Council, which was transmitted by a letter dated 23 May 1994 from the Permanent Representative of South Africa to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, and is contained in document S/1994/606.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/610, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

The first speaker inscribed is the First Executive Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa, His Excellency Mr. Thabo Mbeki, to whom, on behalf of the Council, I extend a warm welcome. I invite His Excellency to make his statement.

Mr. Mbeki (South Africa): This eminent body is meeting today to close a particular chapter in the history of the relations between our country, South Africa, and the nations of the world, as represented by the United Nations.

We trust that, at the conclusion of its meeting today, the Security Council will terminate the mandatory sanctions imposed against South Africa under the terms of resolutions 418 (1977), 558 (1984) and 591 (1986).

We are most grateful to the Council for the opportunity it has kindly granted to our delegation to participate in its proceedings, and would like to take this opportunity to convey to you, Mr. President, and to the other members of the Council, the greetings of our President, Nelson Mandela, and the rest of the Government of democratic South Africa.

We are indeed moved by the fact that the Council is meeting on Africa Day to consider the specific matter on its agenda of lifting the arms embargo against South Africa.

When this embargo was imposed pursuant to the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, it was because the prevailing system of government in our country and the actions carried out by that Government constituted, demonstrably, a threat to international peace and security.

We therefore view the decisions that the Council will take today as an acceptance by the world body that we have become a democratic country, and a country that can be counted on to subscribe and adhere to the pursuit of the important goals of international peace and security. Like millions of other people across the globe, we count on this body to continue to act as the principal protagonist in the global struggle for peace, security and stability.

We firmly commit our country, as a Member of the United Nations and as a responsible citizen of the world, to live up to its obligations in this regard and, consequently, to contribute what it can to the making of the peaceful world which is the right of the peoples. Our Government and people are determined to ensure that within our borders we banish from our national life all those things that make for war and violent conflict.

The successful transition to a democratic order constitutes the firm foundation for peace which our people have yearned for, for generations. It constitutes also the basis from which we will move in the search for a negotiated, just and stable regional security system for all the peoples of southern Africa, which would guarantee the sovereignty of all the countries of our region and ensure that never again should any country fall victim to aggression and destabilization.

Our Government has also begun discussions to see what further contribution we can make to the search for peace in Angola and Mozambique, in support of the efforts of the United Nations and the Governments and peoples of

those two countries. We are also committed to participating to the full extent of our abilities in the efforts spearheaded by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to address the related issues of peace, security, stability, cooperation and development on our continent.

We are accordingly ready to begin discussions with the OAU, the United Nations and all concerned with regard to what can and should be done concerning the tragic situation in Rwanda.

And as we have said, we are otherwise determined to discharge our responsibilities as a Member of this Organization in the collective effort to secure peace for ourselves and for the peoples of the world. We must, in this context, mention the fact that serious steps have already been taken to address the matter of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the regulation of the sale of conventional weapons. Among other things, this has been marked by accession to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the Chemical Weapons Convention and the Biological Weapons Convention, as well as the passage of domestic legislation relating to these matters.

Our Government is determined to ensure that we do indeed honour all the obligations which derive from these international agreements, including such agreements as may regulate the movement of equipment and technology which can be used in the production of missiles capable of delivering weapons of mass destruction. South Africa is also in the process of converting its military technology to civilian application. We would greatly appreciate the assistance of the international community with regard to this matter. Our Government is also keen that a treaty for an African nuclear-weapons-free zone be concluded as soon as possible.

We would also like to take this opportunity to extend our sincere thanks to the Security Council, to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, His Excellency Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali and the United Nations as a whole for the outstanding contribution this Organization has made in bringing South Africa to the happy situation in which it is today. This, of course, has included the dispatch of observers to help us deal with the matter of political violence and the observers, who played such an important role in ensuring a successful first democratic and non-racial election.

The victory that has been won in South Africa belongs as much to the people of our country as to this

Organization and the peoples of the world. As we proceed to confront the enormous challenge of consolidating this victory, we shall continue to count on your support. Precisely because we are conscious of what the world has done for us, we too are determined to contribute what we can to the making of a better world for all.

We are especially pleased that today we meet under your presidency, Sir - end apartheid's crime against humanity and to give birth to a society that is determined to live up to the ideals contained in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Please count on us to behave as an exemplary Member of this Organization, in which the hopes of millions reside.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Botswana. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Legwaila (Botswana): Let me first congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council in a month which we in southern Africa consider immensely historic. It is a fitting and pleasing coincidence that you, the representative of Nigeria and Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, should so brilliantly contrive to be in the chair of this Council on the occasion of the lifting of sanctions against South Africa. You and your country have contributed in no small measure to the birth of the new South Africa.

The same sentiments go to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of New Zealand, who presided over the deliberations of the Security Council with skill and wisdom last month.

It is with great pleasure that we welcome the presence in our midst of the first ever First Executive Deputy President of the new South Africa - as Bishop Tutu describes it, he is brand new out of the box - The Honourable Mr. Thabo Mbeki. Mr. Mbeki is here as a free man at long last. Gone are the days when he would come here as an exile, on his knees, to beg the Security Council to impose sanctions on South Africa as a contribution by the Council to the liberation of his people and country.

On 10 May a new South Africa was born when its new democratically elected President was inaugurated. It would not be an exaggeration to suggest that 10 May in South Africa was probably the most peaceful day in the whole history of that country.

There could have been no better omen for the rebirth of a nation that had experienced the kind of violence South Africa had experienced for three and a half centuries. Suddenly it dawned on all South Africans in their cultural and racial diversity that their future and the future of their country lay squarely in President Nelson Mandela's vision of national reconciliation, democratic pluralism and non-racialism. Thankfully, 15 days later the country remains peaceful and reconciled.

Today the international community, through this Council, welcomes the new South Africa back into the comity of free and civilized nations. The removal of the remaining sanctions, we dearly hope, will not mean the abandonment by the international community of the new South Africa to its own devices. We know that the new South Africa has better devices for survival and prosperity than any other country on the continent of Africa. And yet the fact remains that the country needs massive doses of assistance to deal with the ravages of apartheid, and deal with them effectively and demonstrably, if its nation-building efforts are to bear fruit. In other words, now that apartheid is dead the international community must not think it is relieved of its responsibility to the people of South Africa.

The draft resolution before the Council today marks an historic turning point, a near-miraculous salvation for a country and nation that had for so long threatened to drown itself in its own blood. Botswana supports the Council in this move. Sanctions have played an effective supportive role in the struggle against apartheid, contrary to the views of some in this Council who too often in the past would not contemplate invoking them against apartheid South Africa. Isolation and the whole pariahhood of rejection and the "skunkhood" of untouchability to which South Africa had to be consigned as punishment for racial tyranny contributed in no small measure to the breathtaking drama of South Africa's transition to democracy.

Africa's political liberation is now complete. For us in southern Africa, South Africa's liberation is even more welcome. We can hardly believe that our region is free at last - free to devote its energies to economic and social development, free to grow and prosper. As a neighbour, Botswana is committed to the construction of the friendliest of relations with a liberated South Africa, relations based on mutual respect and good-neighbourliness.

The President: I thank the representative of Botswana for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Zambia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Musuka (Zambia): Allow me at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. I am sure that, with your immense diplomatic skills, a lot will be achieved. May I also take this opportunity to express my delegation's thanks to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of New Zealand to the United Nations, Mr. Colin Keating, for the able manner in which he conducted the affairs of the Security Council during the month of April.

The Security Council is meeting today to dismantle one of the last weapons the international community used in its fight against apartheid in South Africa, the mandatory arms embargo which was imposed on South Africa by resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977, and the subsequent resolutions 421 (1977), 558 (1984) and 591 (1986).

The Council is meeting at a time of changed political environment in South Africa. The question of apartheid in South Africa, which was on the international agenda for more than four decades, is now dead, although its ugly scars may still show on the political, economic and cultural face of South Africa for a few more years.

My delegation welcomes the election process conducted on 27 April 1994, which ushered in a new democratic era. We welcome the establishment of a united, democratic, non-racial Government of South Africa and congratulate Mr. Nelson Mandela, who was inaugurated as the State President of South Africa on 10 May 1994. My delegation would also wish to extend a warm welcome to the South African delegation led by the First Executive Deputy President of South Africa, Mr. Thabo Mbeki.

My delegation is naturally happy that the leadership of my country and the people of Zambia have been actively associated with the entire international community, especially the Security Council, in its noble and just fight against apartheid. With the demise of apartheid, it is my delegation's appeal that the international community now harness all its material and financial resources to assist the new South African Government to meet the expectations of

its larger impoverished majority and to buttress good governance and human rights. It is now generally accepted that the sustenance of democracy cannot thrive in abject poverty.

The road to the goal attained was long, demanding and oppressive, but we are glad, all of us, that we are there. The election outcome has shown the maturity of South Africans to run their own affairs. The presence and support of the international community is highly commendable. All this shows a glow of satisfaction for all of us who supported and stood for the end of the apartheid regime.

His Excellency President Mandela of the Republic of South Africa, who had acquired the status of statesman even before he became a Head of State, remains a symbol of a long and just struggle for freedom. *It is true that it does not take a hero to order men into battle; it takes a hero to be one of those men who go into battle.* President Mandela's spending 27 years in prison and coming out to reconcile all South Africans took just that kind of hero. South Africa is full of heroes of our time.

As for the future of South Africa, as we have heard from the First Executive Deputy President, we have a new chapter that affects not only South Africa, but also our region and, indeed, the African continent. The changes will positively affect the challenges of our future.

We are confident that South Africa's greatest challenge concerning its greatness as a country will always depend not on how strong it is, but on the right use of that strength in the maintenance of international peace and security. The return of Walvis Bay to Namibia in the process marks an act of greatness. The region's potential can now be unlocked for the social and economic development which will benefit the entire region.

My delegation recommends the termination with immediate effect of the mandatory arms embargo imposed against South Africa by resolution 418 (1977) and strengthened by subsequent resolutions 558 (1984) of 13 December 1984 and 591 (1986) of 28 November 1986.

The President: I thank the representative of Zambia for his kind words addressed to me and to my predecessor.

The next speaker is the representative of Zimbabwe. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Mumbengegwi (Zimbabwe): Let me begin by congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council and by saying how fitting it is that you, the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid and an active participant of the front-line States, are presiding over this momentous and historic meeting. Our appreciation is also due to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of New Zealand, for his leadership of the Council during the month of April.

My delegation would also like to extend a most warm welcome to His Excellency Mr. Thabo Mbeki, the First Executive Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa, and his delegation and thank him for his very important address.

Zimbabwe joins the rest of the international community in extending warmest congratulations to the Government and people of South Africa on the final and irreversible attainment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. The struggle against apartheid was long, painful and exacting in terms of loss of life, destruction of property and untold human misery. Its costs were borne not only by the oppressed people of South Africa but also by those in the region and beyond. For over 300 years of colonial rule and over 40 years of the obnoxious system of apartheid, countryman was pitted against countryman and neighbour against neighbour in the struggle for the achievement of unity, democracy and racial equality in South Africa. The inauguration of President Nelson Mandela on 10 May this year was therefore a historic occasion which all South Africans and, indeed, all Africans and the international community must truly celebrate.

We all salute this remarkable and illustrious son of Africa whose own heroic personal life story symbolizes the arduous struggle of the people of South Africa for liberation. It is a fact of history that President Mandela's dedication to liberty and justice for all has made him a legend in his own lifetime. Twenty-seven years of incarceration would have left lesser men bitter and disillusioned. President Mandela emerged from it all with a much wider vision for his country and filled with much more compassion for all the people of South Africa.

Under his leadership, the people of South Africa of all races were able to undertake delicate and painstaking negotiations that led to the relatively peaceful establishment of a new South Africa. It is therefore most appropriate that the Security Council is meeting today to take this most important step to enable South Africa to take its rightful place in the community of nations.

The people of South Africa have given President Mandela and the African National Congress an unequivocal and overwhelming mandate to right the wrongs of the past, redress the inherited imbalances and create opportunities for social and economic justice for all. It is our hope that the international community will continue to assist and support the people of South Africa in creating a new order in as energetic a manner as they assisted and supported the struggle for the eradication of apartheid.

We commend the people of South Africa for the peaceful manner in which they negotiated the transition from white minority rule to non-racial democracy. It is indeed our wish that this be held high as a shining example to be emulated by other nations in conflict everywhere in our troubled world.

Of course, the liberation of South Africa opens up prospects of wide and far-reaching opportunities for our subregion. We can now look forward to an era of peace, an era of political and economic cooperation for the benefit of the region and beyond. The welcome disappearance of a hostile and aggressive neighbour ensures that never again will we have to divert scarce and much-needed resources from development to armaments. The liberation of South Africa is therefore the liberation of the entire region and, indeed, of the entire continent. This is a cause for celebration.

The termination of the arms embargo against South Africa is both timely and appropriate. It enjoys our full support and we look forward to the day, in the not too distant future, when South Africa occupies its seat in our august Organization.

The President: I thank the representative of Zimbabwe for his kind words addressed to me and to my predecessor.

The next speaker is the representative of Congo. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Abibi (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): On this day, when we are celebrating the anniversary of the Organization of African Unity, which recalls so many memories of struggle for the dignity of the individual, including that of the peoples of our continent, the African Group sincerely appreciates the fact that this historic meeting of the Security Council should be taking place under your wise and skilful guidance, Mr. President. We should also like to congratulate your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of New Zealand, for the excellent work he accomplished last month.

The inauguration on 10 May 1994 of Mr. Nelson Mandela as first President of the new South Africa is an historic event of which the international community, and particularly the peoples of Africa, may be proud. It represents the culmination of the struggle waged by the people of South Africa under the strong leadership of their organizations, particularly the African National Congress (ANC), to eradicate apartheid with the active support of the front-line States, the Organization of African Unity, the United Nations and the whole of the international community. The African countries are glad to have participated to the utmost of their ability in this general mobilization of national and international forces in combating the anachronistic system which is today a thing of the past.

Africa hails the emergence of the new South Africa and pays tribute to the men and women of all races, all persuasions and all ethnic origins who, inspired by the resolve to put an end to an iniquitous system which damaged both the oppressed and the oppressor, have, by their sacrifices, made this event possible.

With unflinching determination, unswerving courage and boundless love for their country, the political leaders who faced resistance from an ideology of exclusion have finally managed, as a result of their exceptional qualities, to join in the accomplishment of a noble work, the birth of a great democratic and multiracial country.

The free and peaceful conduct of the multiparty elections and all the initiatives since undertaken to consolidate national unity are striking examples for the other peoples of Africa and of the rest of the world who suffer from fanatical ethnic or nationalist hostilities. In resuming its place in the international community, South Africa thus becomes a deciding factor in the stabilization of the region and a model of wisdom and maturity.

In order to enable South Africa to make use of all the resources necessary for its development, the African Group lends its full support to the draft resolution aimed at lifting the embargo and all the other restrictions imposed by the relevant resolutions of our Organization. The Group wishes the Republic of South Africa prosperity, peace and success in the endeavour of national reconstruction; we once again reaffirm the readiness of the countries of Africa to reinforce their cooperation in all realms of activity with that fraternal country, which today is a bearer of hope for a continent in need of it.

The "odious monster" has been slain; a day of justice and tolerance has dawned for South Africa with the birth of a free nation, relegating the long night of oppression of which poets have sung to the depths of memory. As the battle-lines of new struggles begin to become apparent, we are convinced that the presence in the heart of the great African family of a democratic South Africa represents a decisive advantage to our continent in the face of the numerous challenges that we face.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Congo for his kind words addressed to me and to my predecessor.

(*Spoke in English*): The next speaker is the representative of Sierra Leone. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Bangura (Sierra Leone): Allow me, Sir, to express my delegation's satisfaction at the skilful manner in which Nigeria has been presiding over the Council's deliberations this month. I also wish to convey our appreciation to the Ambassador and Permanent Representative of New Zealand for his stewardship of the Council's affairs during the month of April.

My delegation appreciates being given this opportunity by the Council to participate in the consideration of the item on the question of South Africa. It is indeed a doubly auspicious occasion, first, because during your tenure as President of the Council you, a true son of Africa, should preside over the Council to welcome His Excellency Mr. Thabo Mbeki, First Executive Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa, also a worthy son of Africa, together with his delegation to the United Nations; and, secondly, because what may well be the final act in laying to rest this item on the Council's agenda should also benefit from your

presence in the Chair, especially given the close association that our sister country, Nigeria, has had with this issue over the years.

We listened intently to the address of the First Executive Deputy President as he passionately articulated the hopes and aspirations of the new South Africa. We were deeply moved by the commitment to a new order that the Government must now pursue - an order underpinned by democratic principles and social justice.

A month ago the world watched as the people of South Africa stood up and took a decision on the destiny of their nation. For many of them it was an experience that they never thought would be witnessed in their lifetime. As the electoral exercise wore on, we came to realize that a new chapter was being written - one that offered hope and reconciliation for all South Africans as they emerged from the tunnel of despair that they had journeyed through. Yet it is important that we recall some aspects of the chapter that has recently been closed, in order to appreciate fully the promise that beckons.

Over the years Sierra Leone added its voice to that of the rest of the international community in calling for a peaceful resolution of the South African question. Then our hearts went out to those who had become the casualties of a divided society, as well as to those beyond that country's borders who felt the harsh touch of its contradictions. Our faith in the ability and courage of the people of South Africa to attain the goal of a non-racial, democratic society never wavered or waned.

Today, as we mark this momentous occasion, we have had cause to reflect on that chapter in the life of South Africa over which the international community agonized for so many years. Indeed, the road that has brought His Excellency Mr. Thabo Mbeki to this Chamber today has been a long, tortuous and difficult one, littered with the victims of a philosophy that has now been consigned to the pages of history.

Happily, that chapter is now behind us. Now is the time to look forward. My delegation is convinced that the future course of South Africa is full of promise under the leadership of His Excellency Mr. Nelson Mandela, and that the people of South Africa will become an example of harmonious nation-building.

In its statement on 3 May my Government congratulated the people of South Africa on their victory, and welcomed the new democratic society into the

community of nations. I wish to reiterate those sentiments today and express the full cooperation of the Government and people of Sierra Leone as South Africa marches towards its true destiny.

Allow me to close by observing that we all, as Member States of this Organization, have an obligation to ensure that the momentous developments that have taken place in South Africa, and with which its people must impel themselves to a new and richer experience, succeed. We have felt the travails of a country, taken part in the birth of a nation; we must now nurture its fledgling democracy.

The President: I thank the representative of Sierra Leone for his kind words addressed to me and to my predecessor.

The next speaker is the representative of Algeria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Lamamra (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): It is a great pleasure for me to participate in this debate under your presidency, Sir, on the anniversary of the foundation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), traditionally celebrated as the day of Africa's liberation and when the Security Council is ready to close once and for all the file on South Africa, a question which has been so long before it. A happy coincidence has thus brought together, on a symbolic date, the celebration of a decisive achievement in the historical process of the emancipation of the African peoples and the solemn act of recognition by the United Nations that it has carried out its duty to the people of South Africa. This is occurring, most opportunely, when the Security Council is presided over by a worthy son of Africa, the Foreign Minister of Nigeria, a country whose name is closely linked to the struggle for the elimination of apartheid. In extending my warmest congratulations to Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari, both on assuming the presidency of the Council and on his remarkable work since the beginning of the month, I should also like to pay a well-deserved tribute to his predecessor, Ambassador Colin Keating, for his work as President during April.

The presence in this Chamber of His Excellency Mr. Thabo Mbeki in his new capacity as First Executive Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa reflects the nature and scope of the changes that have just taken place in South Africa, on which the Security Council is

now called upon to act, drawing the necessary legal consequences with respect to the sanctions it imposed on South Africa. For the international community this means celebrating one of the most striking events in modern history - the conclusion of a national liberation struggle and a pluralistic electoral process, both of which were exemplary. For the international community it also means participating with the South African people in turning a new page in the history of a great country, whose new President, His Excellency Mr. Nelson Mandela, indicated in his policy speech to Parliament two days ago in Cape Town that the challenge is now to "build a society focused on man, a society guaranteeing freedom to the individual and restoring the dignity of each South African". Finally, we must welcome South Africa into the international community, giving it the place and rank to which it is entitled in both regional and international organizations and groups.

In this context, Algeria is particularly pleased that South Africa has joined the Organization of African Unity, of which it became the fifty-third member State on 23 May, in accordance with the provisions and procedures of the Charter of that pan-African body. Algeria also welcomes the prospect of South Africa's restoration to full participation in the General Assembly very soon.

Beyond the specific aspects of the draft resolution and its practical impact, what the Security Council is doing today marks the end of an era and the beginning of a new one in which a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa will consolidate its national, regional and international foundations and will in various areas make a valuable contribution consistent with its historical experience as well as with its own unique identity and with the capacities of its people and leadership.

Algeria, which provided moral and material support to the fraternal South African people in its struggle and which developed an effective brotherhood in arms with the ANC in its various stages of struggle, is pleased to participate in this event. Algeria shares the feeling of having fulfilled our duty which prevails at this meeting of the Security Council. It is with the same feeling that we shall join in the glowing report on the end of a mission which will soon be prepared, to the satisfaction of all, in the ad hoc Committee of Heads of State of the OAU on Southern Africa and in the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Algeria for the very kind words he

extended to my colleague Ambassador Gambari and to his predecessor in the presidency, the representative of New Zealand.

(*Spoke in English*)

The next speaker is the representative of Egypt. I invite her to take a place at the Council table and to make her statement.

Mrs. Hassan (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, allow me at the outset to express to you my warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council this month. I also wish to thank Ambassador Gambari for his unstinting efforts as Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid and for his conduct of the work of the Council this month. My thanks also go to your predecessor Ambassador Keating, Permanent Representative of New Zealand, for the outstanding manner in which he conducted the work of the Council last month.

The delegation of Egypt welcomes Mr. Thabo Mbeki, First Executive Deputy President of South Africa, who represents his country in the international community after years of struggle for human rights and for upholding justice. We listened attentively to his important statement clarifying the new direction of the new South Africa.

The delegation of Egypt, which feels it an honour to speak on behalf of the Organization of African Unity, wishes on this occasion warmly to welcome the draft resolution to be adopted by the Security Council today, putting an end to the long struggle of the people of South Africa, with the support of the international community, for liberation and for upholding the value of the human person on the territory of this fraternal African country.

We are pleased that on the two occasions Egypt presided over the OAU two main events took place: first, Namibia's accession to independence, putting an end to the era of colonialism in Africa, and, second, the establishment of a democratic, non-racial Government in South Africa under the leadership of President Mandela, to whom we pay tribute for his historic role in ending apartheid.

We are pleased on this occasion to welcome South Africa's accession to membership of the OAU just a few

days ago, thus taking its rightful place among the nations of the continent and completing the entire African family.

Circumstances have combined to make of this meeting a profoundly significant occasion. It is indeed auspicious that the Security Council should be adopting a draft resolution on ending the arms embargo and other restrictions imposed against South Africa in resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977 on the same day that the continent celebrates Africa Day. Three decades ago - on 25 May 1963, to be more precise - Africa's leaders in a historical meeting decided to consolidate their efforts in order to see to it that justice and equality prevailed and that the legal aspirations of the peoples to freedom and independence were met. This historical vision of Africa's leaders has been completed today with the success of the wisdom and political will which led to the inauguration of a national, democratic and non-racial Government for the first time, this on 10 May 1994, in South Africa. This development is considered a victory first and foremost for the majority that has been patient and made sacrifices in its struggle of three decades. It is also a culmination of the efforts of the OAU, especially by the neighbouring countries and the front-line States, which generously provided the political and moral support that gave succor to the liberation movement of their neighbour.

This is also a victory for the members of the international community that tenaciously upheld justice and unstintingly condemned the apartheid regime and refused to deal with it.

South Africa has at the political level attained a great triumph that is hailed by all. President Mandela was able to establish deeply rooted bases for achieving national reconciliation and unity - a matter which was reflected in his selection of the elements of his national Government in which he mobilized all the forces that, despite differences, had contributed to achieving a peaceful transition to a well-founded democratic regime. While the dream has come true at the political level, the struggle of South Africa has not yet ended, for it still faces a great challenge. Solutions must be found for its economic and social problems in order to build a better future commensurate with its location and natural resources that should be tapped with a view to raising the standard of living of the majority that has been deprived and suffered as a result of the racist decisions that impeded the development of the masses in South Africa.

In our estimation, the reconstruction stage is no less important than that of struggle against the racist regime.

It is thus imperative for all elements of South African society to work in harmony and without violence in a concerted national effort to achieve development and progress.

My delegation regards the future of South Africa optimistically and supports all steps towards South Africa's recovery of its natural place within the international family. We look forward to constructive cooperation with it in all fields.

South Africa is doing what it can to achieve stability, establish the necessary climate for the development process, with all its attendant challenges, mobilize the nation's human and material resources in order to hasten the rebuilding of the State and to make a positive contribution within the African family and in the world at large. We call on the international community to help South Africa in this endeavour.

The President: I thank the representative of Egypt and for her kind words addressed to me and to my predecessor.

The next speaker is the representative of Malaysia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Razali (Malaysia): Mr. President, it is a special pleasure to see you chairing this meeting. The role played by Nigeria and by Ambassador Gambari in the struggle against apartheid is intertwined with the role of the United Nations. It is also symbolic and propitious that an important country, Nigeria, should preside over this meeting which, in essence, brings into our midst an equally important country, South Africa.

Hardly a month ago, the international community witnessed the first democratic, non-racial elections in South Africa. The successful conclusion of the elections is without doubt one of the most positive and welcome developments in the post-cold-war era. Today brings another important event in the history of South Africa, as the Security Council sets about to adopt a draft resolution that calls on the international community to lift the arms embargo and other restrictions imposed on that country. My delegation welcomes this timely decision of the Council, which reflects and is consistent with the current changes that are taking place in South Africa.

Given our deep aversion to and abhorrence of apartheid, Malaysia has actively worked within and

outside the United Nations in contributing towards the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. During our term in the Security Council from 1989 to 1990, Malaysia had the opportunity to chair the Sanctions Committee on South Africa. Those were tumultuous times, as efforts were galvanized to breach the walls of apartheid. Perseverance and singleness of purpose, together with the unrelenting support of the international community, contributed, among other things, to the dismantling of apartheid.

The transition from the struggle for independence to that for national consolidation during the early period of nationhood can be fraught with uncertainty and even danger. No country is wholly independent at the stroke of midnight of its independence day. The unfurling of the national flag marks the long and often arduous path to national development and reconstruction. The international community, for its part, should spare no efforts to support South Africa during this critical period.

Malaysia is confident that the new Government under the able leadership of Mr. Nelson Mandela will be able to steer the country in the needed direction: that of justice, stability and prosperity for all. In this regard, may I take this opportunity to reiterate our Government's firm support and friendship for the new Government of South Africa. We look forward to working with them in their noble efforts to build their country. We also look forward to South Africa's taking its rightful place and contributing to all the important issues before the United Nations. This is a country long denied, but now proudly ready to make its mark on Africa, the developing world and the international community.

While we should truly rejoice with the people of South Africa as apartheid is finally laid to rest there, we should not forget that the spectre of apartheid in another form may resurface elsewhere, given, for example, the horrible events being perpetrated in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Crimes against humanity, in all their manifestations, must be fought and eliminated, as has been done so successfully and gloriously in South Africa.

The President: I thank the representative of Malaysia for his statement and for his kind words addressed to the Permanent Representative of Nigeria, to my country, Nigeria, and to my predecessor in this chair.

The next speaker is the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Mwambulukutu (United Republic of Tanzania): Allow me to join the other speakers in expressing my delegation's profound congratulations to the first democratically elected President of South Africa, Mr. Nelson Mandela, and to the entire South African people for having finally achieved their political emancipation from the bondage of apartheid.

We also welcome the presence in the Security Council Chamber of Mr. Thabo Mbeki, the first Executive Deputy President in the Government of President Mandela. His statement to the international community further attests to the fact that the principles of a united, democratic and non-racial society are taking root in South Africa.

Tanzania further welcomes the admission of South Africa into the membership of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) effective today, 25 May 1994. This rightly coincides with the commemoration of the thirty-first anniversary of the founding of the OAU.

The new democratic South Africa is one of the enviable success stories in recent history. That success did not happen by miracle. It is a result of a protracted struggle, waged primarily by the people of South Africa themselves, which resulted in many of them paying the supreme price either in blood or in interminable incarceration. We also realize fully that these laudable results would not have been possible without the unflinching support of the international community in the form of economic sanctions and other pressures on the apartheid regime.

We can now, 32 years since the imposition of the first economic sanctions by the United Nations General Assembly, look back with satisfaction because those efforts were not in vain. It is clear that pressures were an indispensable aspect of the world community's strategy for the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a united, democratic non-racial South Africa.

The people of South Africa and the entire international anti-apartheid movement have every reason to celebrate. Those directly responsible for dealing the most severe blow to apartheid deserve full recognition by the international community. Here we refer in particular to two leading South African personalities - President Nelson Mandela and National Party leader Frederik de Klerk. These two joined forces along with their followers in the pursuit of a peaceful solution.

The National Peace Accord, which brought together all those committed to democratic principles in South Africa, became possible largely because of the resolve of the two leaders. Inexorable progress, albeit punctuated by violence, followed, as envisaged in the 1989 Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. It is for this reason that the international community, and the United Nations in particular, proceeded to encourage positive change in South Africa through the relaxation of pressure on Pretoria. That was the purpose of the relaxation of United Nations sanctions, with the exception of the arms embargo.

This body is convening today to consider the termination of the mandatory arms embargo imposed against South Africa by resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977 and subsequent resolutions 558 (1984) of 13 December 1984 and 591 (1986) of 28 November 1986.

The draft resolution now before the members of the Security Council is predicated on the already established united, democratic, non-racial Government of South Africa. The adoption of this draft is important in that the lifting of the mandatory arms embargo will mark a major step towards the return of South Africa to the United Nations. Tanzania believes that the adoption of this draft resolution will further strengthen the resolve of the new Government to redress the legacy of apartheid, embarking on national reconciliation and reconstruction as well as exploring in peace new avenues of constructive links with its neighbours.

We look forward to working closely with South Africa and urge the international community, especially the United Nations and multilateral institutions, to extend all necessary support to South Africa as it returns to its rightful place among the community of nations.

The President: I thank the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Greece. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Vassilakis (Greece): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union.

At the outset, I would like to congratulate you, Sir, on Nigeria's assumption of the presidency of the Security

Council. I have no doubt that Ambassador Gambari's wealth of diplomatic experience and diplomatic skills will be of invaluable assistance in conducting the affairs of the Council. My congratulations go also to the Permanent Representative of New Zealand, Ambassador Keating, on the highly efficient and professional manner in which he conducted the work of the Council during the month of April.

I wish also to welcome the participation in this debate of His Excellency Mr. Thabo Mbeki, Executive Deputy President of South Africa, participation which testifies to the vivid interest of the new South African Government in normalizing its presence among other nations of the international community.

The European Union warmly welcomes the first democratic elections and the establishment of a united, democratic, non-racial Government in South Africa, which was inaugurated on 10 May 1994. We congratulate the people of South Africa and its leaders on this historic occasion.

In this connection, the European Union welcomes the draft resolution before the Security Council today. The adoption of this draft resolution would lead to the abolishment of the mandatory arms embargo and other restrictions imposed on South Africa by resolution 418 (1977), as well as other measures against South Africa contained in resolutions of the Security Council, in particular resolutions 282 (1970), 558 (1984) and 591 (1986). It is furthermore stipulated that the Committee of the Security Council established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa is dissolved.

The European Union is ready to support the efforts of the new Government to accomplish the goal of leading the country to a democratic and non-racial society in which respect for human rights, respect for the rights of minorities, the rule of law, social justice and the elimination of all forms of discrimination will prevail. In this context, I am glad to announce that the European Union, for its part, has decided to lift the last remaining autonomous restrictive measure it had taken since 1985 against South Africa, namely the refusal to cooperate in the military field.

Furthermore, the European Union recalls the decision of the General Affairs Council of 19 April 1994, in which it pledged a package of immediate measures for South Africa. These measures will focus on a dialogue

centred on important sectors of South Africa, such as trade, economic cooperation and development cooperation, in order to respond to the immediate needs and aspirations of the South Africans. These measures will be coupled with the beginning of a political dialogue in order to enhance and consolidate the democratic institutions upon which the new South African society will build its future.

The European Union expresses its deep confidence in the new period now lying ahead of South Africa. It believes that the new Government, which now represents the majority of the population, will continue to succeed in finding solutions to the harsh problems it faces through dialogue and peaceful means.

Mr. Snoussi (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): I am pleased to be able to congratulate my brother Ambassador Gambari on the effective and judicious manner in which he has presided over the Council since the beginning of the month.

I should also like to convey to Mr. Colin Keating our gratitude for his presidency last month.

It is very comforting for us today to see the Council meeting at last on the occasion of an event in which our hearts and minds can rejoice. For too long we were denied any satisfaction or joy. Unfortunately, the past years have brought us only tragedies, fratricidal wars and terrible situations. The international community has had to face innumerable crises and interminable tragedies. The maintenance of peace, humanitarian assistance and aid throughout the world have become everyday tasks for the United Nations, which is finding it difficult to respond to all the appeals made to it from every direction and to all the problems it must solve. Bosnia, and now Rwanda, have taken the place of other tragedies that monopolized the press and television through their violence, assassinations, "ethnic cleansing", rapes and so on.

In these past years, we have together deplored all that has come to pass. We have given the Security Council our unwavering support. We have reiterated here our hope that the Council's determination would check hatred and evil. In all these cases, our joint action, unfortunately, was doomed to failure by treacherous outlaws who trample upon human morality. Ongoing events in Bosnia and Rwanda are totally unacceptable, but we continue nevertheless to hope that reason will prevail over madness and ruthlessness. We will spare no effort to bring comfort to those who suffer, to stop the invaders and to confront

those who, in 1994, still nurture the dream of hegemony and grandeur.

Thank God, in this absolutely bleak picture there is a ray of hope. For several decades, the situation in South Africa seemed insoluble and intractable. After several decades, we began to believe that the dream of the South Africans would never be realized. But the other day, a miracle occurred in Johannesburg. South Africa was liberated from the hydra that had always held it in thrall. Apartheid, racial discrimination and segregation disappeared as if by magic, leaving a free country united in the faith of a glorious and prosperous future.

This occurred not by chance but thanks to the clear-sightedness of its leaders, who were able to transcend their anxieties and disagreements to organize together the future of a very great country. No, it was not by chance, because for years the international community had worked tirelessly, persistently and intelligently to bring an end to the formidable power of apartheid.

This time at least, our sanctions yielded unambiguous and incontrovertible results. Everything that has occurred allows us to believe that all is not lost. It is not every day that we come across a great patriot, leader and man like Nelson Mandela, who has demonstrated clear-sightedness, intelligence and, above all, generosity. Of course, it must also be said that it is not every day that one comes across a great statesman like Mr. De Klerk, who knew that the time had come to turn the page of history and to join the flow of history.

At a time when we are preparing to welcome this sister nation and to put aside the remnants of a painful past, let us hope that the international community will be motivated more than it has been in the past to solve more promptly the problems that continue to prick the world's conscience.

It is our great honour to have the First Executive Deputy President of South Africa among us. We greet him and reiterate all our best wishes for success. We also wish to extend to President Mandela our wishes for a long and prosperous life, that he may lead South Africa to the development and happiness to which it aspires.

The President: I thank the representative of Morocco for his kind words addressed to the Permanent Representative of Nigeria and his predecessor.

The next speaker is the representative of India. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Ansari (India): Permit me to congratulate you, Sir, for assuming personally the presidency of the Council on this historic occasion. I would also like to take this opportunity to welcome the First Executive Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa, Mr. Thabo Mbeki. His presence here today in the Security Council befits the occasion.

The inauguration of the Government of National Unity in South Africa on 10 May 1994 was a very special occasion for South Africa, for the whole world and for the people of India. A new Government elected on the basis of the first-ever multi-racial elections in South Africa assumed office on that day.

The restoration of equality amongst all races in South Africa is a matter of immense and direct satisfaction to the people and the Government of India. Many, many years ago, India, as a fledgling independent State, took the bold initiative to crystallize world opinion against the injustice and inhumanity of the apartheid system and advocated forcefully that the United Nations should be an important instrument in effecting peaceful change and in dismantling apartheid. We did that because we felt that it was our cause and not just the cause of a distant neighbour. Our commitment to this cause never flagged or faltered.

The establishment of the non-racial and democratic Government in South Africa represents a victory for universal human values. As the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Narasimha Rao said in his statement on the occasion of the inauguration of the Government of National Unity in South Africa on 10 May 1994:

"The South African struggle has shown that the strength of the human spirit, the strength of values of moral conviction, and the strength of uncompromising struggle against domination and exploitation are indeed formidable forces for change." (S/1994/577, p. 2)

The United Nations has made its contribution to the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. The Organization actively supported the anti-apartheid movement and contributed to the mobilization of international opinion against the system of apartheid. Sanctions imposed by the Organization, such as economic

and financial sanctions and an oil embargo through General Assembly resolutions, played a useful role.

The Security Council played a significant role in hastening the pace of change in South Africa. The arms embargo was symbolic of the Council's abhorrence of apartheid as well as other crimes perpetrated against the black majority in South Africa. The Security Council Committee for monitoring the implementation of the arms embargo, over which India had the privilege of presiding, kept a watchful eye on the situation and brought violations to light promptly. Today, the Council can take pride in the fact that it has contributed substantially to the elimination of apartheid.

With the establishment of the Government of National Unity, it is appropriate that the sanctions earlier imposed by the United Nations should be removed immediately. Economic and financial sanctions and the oil embargo were removed by the General Assembly last year, at its forty-eighth session. We welcome the Security Council's proposed decision today to now remove the arms embargo. This will be in accordance with the wishes of President Mandela expressed in his letter to the Security Council President in document S/1994/606.

With the Council's decision today, all sanctions against South Africa would be lifted. We welcome the opportunity it provides for a new South Africa to play its deserved and natural role in this Organization and in the conduct of international relations.

The President: I thank the representative of India for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Senegal. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Cissé (Senegal) (interpretation from French): The Senegalese delegation welcomes your assumption, Sir, of the presidency of the Security Council not only because of your outstanding qualities as a skilled diplomat but also because your presidency coincides with the holding of today's Council meeting. This coincidence is highly significant, especially in the light of the fact that this meeting is devoted to the celebration of the end of several decades of struggle against the apartheid system, a struggle in which your brotherly and friendly country played an active, dynamic role and through the skill with which your country's representative, Ambassador Ibrahim

Gambari, has always guided the Special Committee against Apartheid.

I also wish to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Colin Keating of New Zealand, for the remarkable work accomplished last month.

It is a special pleasure for me to welcome the presence at this solemn meeting of Mr. Thabo Mbeki, Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa. His presence among us is an honour and a source of genuine pride and great joy, because he is one of the most energetic and outstanding architects of the recent and successful evolution that has taken place in South Africa.

For the entire international community, and especially for Africa, the overwhelming victory won by the African National Congress (ANC) in the first democratic elections in South Africa and the accession of Mr. Nelson Mandela to the presidency of the South African Republic truly represent the enshrinement of the ideals of justice, equality and liberty that have always guided the heroic struggle of the South African people against discrimination and racism in its most inhumane form.

In the message addressed to President Mandela on 4 May 1994, his friend and brother Mr. Abdou Diouf, President of the Republic of Senegal, emphasized that the victory of the ANC

"breaks the last chains of apartheid, thus reconciling South Africa with itself, with mother Africa and with the entire international community".

This victory is also a tribute by the people of South Africa to the man who in the eyes of the world has symbolized the rejection of injustice and discrimination, tenacity in maintaining his convictions and, today, tolerance, fraternity, reconciliation and dialogue.

My delegation also wishes to express its deep satisfaction at the decisive role played by President Frederik de Klerk in the process of dismantling apartheid and establishing democracy in South Africa.

In reiterating its congratulations to the people of South Africa and its leaders, the Senegalese delegation wishes to take this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to all the men and women who, in southern Africa and the world over, have actively supported the triumph of justice and law.

In Senegal, where the struggle against apartheid has always been one of the major concerns of our governmental authorities and our population, this historic event has been welcomed with relief, satisfaction and hope. It has been welcomed with relief, first of all, at seeing the efforts of the international community and the sacrifices of the worthy sons and daughters of Africa finally rewarded; with satisfaction because, thanks to the political maturity of the political leaders of that great country, democracy, freedom and justice have triumphed in large part and the will of the majority has been enshrined; and, finally, with the hope that thanks to the lucidity and magnanimity of the democratic Government that has been established, South Africa will soon be playing its rightful, important role on the international scene.

For these reasons, here on the threshold of this new era that is dawning in South Africa, we reiterate the appeal made to the international community to give its generous support to the new Government of South Africa in its task of rehabilitating and relaunching the country's economy and in the human development of the majority of its population.

In this respect, South Africa, its Government and its people can continue to count on the constant support of Senegal, its Head of State, its Government and all its people.

The President: I thank the representative of Senegal for the kind sentiments he expressed with regard to my country and for his kind words for the Permanent Representative of Nigeria and his predecessor, the Permanent Representative of New Zealand.

The next speaker is the representative of Tunisia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Abdellah (Tunisia) (interpretation from French): Allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your country's assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month and to express our great appreciation for the skill with which Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari has guided the work of this body.

Our congratulations go also to Ambassador Keating of New Zealand, whose work last month, thanks to his perseverance and determination, was quite remarkable.

Allow me also to welcome the presence at this meeting of Mr. Thabo Mbeki, First Executive Deputy President of South Africa.

It is a happy coincidence that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the great, brotherly African country that holds the chairmanship of the Special Committee against Apartheid is presiding over a meeting of the Security Council devoted to the lifting of the arms embargo against South Africa.

We take this opportunity to express our joy at finally seeing South Africa, reconciled with the purposes and principles of our Charter, returning to its rightful place in the bosom of the family of nations.

Believing as it does in the just cause of a people struggling to recover their rights and dignity, and inspired by the principles of human rights, the international community took up that cause, giving its complete support and applying various forms of pressure against the segregationist system in that country. The United Nations made a very valuable and constructive contribution.

For its part, the Organization of African Unity played a crucial role in the struggle against apartheid by coordinating the actions taken by the African States to that end, and by making the international community more aware of the cause.

The people of South Africa at last found the path of harmony and reason in order to make the electoral process work and to make the principles of freedom and equality for all prevail, thus giving birth to a new, democratic, united and non-racial nation.

This salutary development was made possible by, in particular, the high-mindedness and statesmanship of the South African leader, Nelson Mandela, and of Mr. Frederik de Klerk. They were thus able to avoid obstacles and excesses, inspired as they were by the desire to serve the common interest of all South Africans.

Since becoming President of the Republic, His Excellency President Nelson Mandela has persevered along the same path by establishing a Government that faithfully reflects the new political configuration to emerge from April's democratic elections, a Government able to establish national reconciliation.

This commitment deserves to be encouraged and supported by all components of South African society, in

a framework of continued harmony and respect for constitutional legality.

The support of the international community is also necessary to strengthen this process by supporting the democratic changes that have taken place and by helping to establish conditions of stability and social progress in the country. The total lifting of all the restrictions imposed by the Security Council on South Africa therefore follows the logic of events.

It goes without saying that a democratic, united and non-racial South Africa constitutes a factor for stability and prosperity, at both the regional and international levels.

This new nation will certainly contribute to the promotion of cooperation in all fields between the African countries and to joint action aimed at reducing hotbeds of tension and opening up new prospects for the continent's economic and social development.

The forthcoming Summit meeting in Tunisia of African Heads of State and Government will give us an opportunity to solemnly welcome South Africa as a fully fledged member of the Organization of African Unity. The people of Tunisia and, at their head, President Ben Ali, who spared no effort to support the heroic combat of the people of South Africa, are delighted at the idea of welcoming President Nelson Mandela and of expressing to him their warmest congratulations and their best wishes for every success in his noble mission to lead his people towards progress and prosperity and to consolidate the values and principles of equality, justice and democracy in Africa and throughout the world.

The President: I thank the representative of Tunisia for his kind words addressed to my country; to the Permanent Representative of Nigeria; to his predecessor, the Permanent Representative of New Zealand; and to myself.

The next speaker is Mr. Abdul Minty, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Minty: I should like on behalf of the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa to congratulate Nigeria on its presidency of the Security Council and to thank Nigeria, as well as the

Council, for the privilege and honour of addressing this historic meeting.

This is the fourth time that I have appeared before the Council. In the past it was to call for action against apartheid, but today, on Africa Day, it is to celebrate the democratic transformation of South Africa and to rejoice at the relaxation of the international arms embargo.

We wholeheartedly support the draft resolution before the Council. The statement today by the First Deputy Executive President of South Africa has confirmed the transformation of South Africa from a virtual international outlaw to a normal and responsible member of the world community of nations. Immediately after the 1960 Sharpeville massacre we launched through the Anti-Apartheid Movement an international campaign to stop arming apartheid. The Security Council imposed an arms embargo against apartheid during 1963-1964 and substantially strengthened it in 1970.

However, it was only after the historic United Nations-Organization of African Unity Lagos Conference of August 1977 that the Security Council adopted the mandatory arms embargo against apartheid through resolution 418 (1977) of November 1977. That was the first-ever mandatory decision by the United Nations against a Member State. Thereafter, additional resolutions were adopted to strengthen the arms embargo - namely, resolutions 558 (1984) and 591 (1986).

It was also decided at the Lagos Conference to establish the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, with the Heads of State of Nigeria and the front-line States as the founder patrons. We have over the years cooperated closely with the Security Council's "421 arms embargo Committee", and its records testify to our consistent efforts to ensure the strict and comprehensive implementation of the solemn decisions of the United Nations.

We should also state that the early warnings we gave of the development of an "apartheid bomb" were not scaremongering, but were founded on solid facts which have subsequently been confirmed.

In addition to trying to prevent arms being used for internal suppression in South Africa, we had to later intensify the arms embargo in order to stop apartheid's growing war in the region. The enormous sacrifices made by the front-line States to advance the African liberation struggle involved a large number of casualties and massive

destruction, certainly without precedent in modern history. Newly independent countries risked their national sovereignty and very survival in order to support the freedom struggle, and most of them, like the majority population within South Africa's borders, continue to suffer from the destructive consequences of apartheid.

Despite the loopholes and weakness in the implementation of the embargo, and various violations, we believe that the arms embargo against apartheid played a significant role in bringing about change and reducing the level of violence and human suffering in southern Africa. Of course, it was essentially the struggle of the South African people that brought about their liberation. But that struggle also became the common struggle of humanity, and therefore the cost of the transformation was relatively low. Thus, when the dawn of a new democratic South Africa broke in Pretoria on 10 May 1994 it was a victory for all the people of South Africa and the world, and we can today talk about reconciliation and begin the task of nation-building because the whole world has enormous sympathy for the new South Africa in its future plans.

At last the people of South Africa and of southern Africa as a whole have peace from apartheid and can begin the mammoth task of reconstruction and development in a framework of common security.

As we relax the arms embargo we need to thank the African States, the Non-Aligned Movement and some Western States for their long commitment to anti-apartheid action. We thank the Nordic countries, and, on behalf of the World Campaign, we particularly thank Norway and Sweden for their direct support. We thank Britain for ending the Simonstown Agreement in 1975 and the other major Western Powers which were also persuaded over the years, often through mass, nationwide campaigns, to take more effective action against apartheid. We should also like to thank the "421 arms embargo Committee" of the Council and the Special Committee against Apartheid, and their respective chairpersons, as well as the Centre against Apartheid, for their cooperation.

I must also pay tribute to the thousands of extraordinary people who assisted us, some by providing information at considerable personal risk and sacrifice, and others who acted through various anti-apartheid organizations in helping to implement the decisions of the Security Council.

South Africa has had a long struggle for freedom, and our leaders and people always kept hope alive, as did the front-line States and supporters abroad. All that has helped to produce the new reality, which is truly miraculous. The United Nations has played a major role in this process since its inception.

But there are new tasks in the new era. South Africa will need the United Nations and the international community, and the international community and the United Nations will need South Africa.

On a personal note, as a South African who has worked in exile since 1959 to promote anti-apartheid campaigns, I should like to say what a wonderful feeling it was to vote for the first time last month in the first-ever South African democratic elections; to be granted my first South African passport in 35 years; to have had to the privilege to be in Pretoria on 10 May to witness the inauguration of His Excellency President Nelson Mandela as the head of a free South Africa; and today to travel from South Africa on our national airline and participate in this meeting with our First Executive Deputy President, His Excellency Mr. Thabo Mbeki, and the Deputy Foreign Minister, His Excellency Mr. Aziz Pahad, and other members of the South African delegation. This is almost an unbelievable experience. It is truly a dream that has come true, for hope at last has become a reality. We can all agree today that the mission has been accomplished.

The President: I thank Mr. Minty for his kind sentiments with regard to my country.

The next speaker is the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Misić (Bosnia and Herzegovina): Allow me at the outset, Sir, to express the honour our delegation feels in being able to address the Security Council, headed by you, at this historic meeting. Also allow me to commend your Ambassador, His Excellency Mr. Ibrahim Gambari, for his distinguished leadership and skill in directing the work of the Council, and to express my appreciation to the previous President, His Excellency Ambassador Colin Keating, for his courageous and fruitful job during the very trying month of April.

It is a special honour to be able to welcome His Excellency Mr. Thabo Mbeki, the First Executive Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa, who

moments ago eloquently presented the dreams and concerns of the South African people.

The Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina would like to take this opportunity to offer its most heartfelt congratulations to the newly elected Government and the people of South Africa on their accession to a society based upon freedom, democracy and respect of human rights.

The resolution to be adopted today by the Security Council is yet another milestone in South Africa's return to normality and the family of nations. The lifting of the sanctions imposed by all the relevant resolutions will help stimulate the economic development needed to facilitate the democratic trends in South Africa. The people of South Africa, now free of apartheid, should also be free of poverty.

But now there is a new South Africa, spawned by the wisdom and courage of President Nelson Mandela, and the vision of Vice-President F. W. de Klerk, and many others like them, who forsook the ways of the past to take on the responsibilities of the present and create a future for this brave South Africa. The myths of racial division were rejected for the truths of democratic pluralism. The legitimacy of these truths was demonstrated to all the world in April during the first all-race, multi-party elections, which were free and fair, as witnessed by the international community. Now a just and prosperous future for all South Africans is being moulded by a united, democratic, non-racial Government, inaugurated earlier this month.

By challenges still exist for South Africans and the international community. In ideology and in practice, racism and racial discrimination pose dangerous threats to pluralism and equality everywhere. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbian extremists continue their campaigns of extermination and expulsion; in Italy, France, Germany and Great Britain and in the former communist countries neo-fascists engage in harassment and murder of minority populations; and even here in the United States, one-time presidential candidate David Duke called on white Americans to help white separatists in South Africa create their own ethnically homogeneous State, an idea, I believe, we all find repulsive. We members of the family of nations must help the Government of South Africa fend off those extremists, who still pursue dreams of ethnic and racial division and domination. It is our moral duty, as well as our legal duty.

Let me conclude by stating that the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina stands ready to cooperate with the newly elected Government of South Africa, as our dreams are one and the same, and looks forward to doing so.

The President: I thank the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina for his kind words addressed to the Permanent Representative of Nigeria and to his predecessor, the Permanent Representative of New Zealand.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Olhaye (Djibouti): Mr. President, my delegation wishes warmly to welcome you to the Security Council. We are honoured, indeed pleased, to have you presiding over this important meeting today. It is quite fitting that an African country so heavily involved in the challenge and demise of apartheid, most notably as Chairman of the Special Committee Against Apartheid, should be presiding over the Council to remove the United Nations mandatory sanctions against South Africa. We also wish to express our gratitude to my colleague Ambassador Gambari for the constructive role he has played since joining the Council, in particular as its President for this momentous month.

We also wish to recognize and welcome the Honourable Thabo Mbeki, First Executive Deputy President of South Africa and Chairman of the ANC, and a venerable part of the struggle for justice and the termination of apartheid in South Africa who is among us today as the leader of his delegation. As President Mandela's right-hand man he no doubt speaks with authority for the new South Africa.

The fascinating saga of South Africa's political transformation has passed another momentous milestone with the successful completion of the 26-28 April presidential and national elections and the establishment of the first democratically elected non-racial Government on 10 May 1994. Many of us had held strong reservations in the preceding months, for key issues remained to be agreed upon, major and minor players refused participation and

violence remained an ever-present and unpredictable factor, while the logistics and manpower requirements of the electoral process appeared daunting. Almost miraculously though, election day came, turn-out exceeded expectations, violence receded, and perhaps most encouraging of all, the results appear to have been generally accepted as substantially free and fair. The sight of South Africa's first freely elected Head of State taking office this month, was one a weary world badly needed to see in Africa.

No one can predict, of course, what the future may bring, but we can all take solace in what has been the very capable and wise leadership exhibited by President Mandela and former President de Klerk. The negotiating process has been surprisingly complex, laden with numerous political disagreements, power moves and difficult players. A wide chasm of trust had to be bridged, constituents and factions won over, and expectations and agendas scaled back. The manner in which Mr. Mandela was able to convince his supporters to accept power sharing, to keep the political process moving through quiet, behind-the-scenes negotiations with the leadership of Inkatha, the Government and the white right-wing, overcoming clear disagreements shows the kind of practical and realistic leadership that is so often found lacking today. One must also recognize the courageous and intelligent manner in which former President de Klerk politically prepared the white minority, culminating in the resounding referendum victory for continued negotiations with the African majority which served to isolate and deflate the extreme right. From this perspective, it is understandable that both men shared the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize, the crowning third Nobel recognition of the long fight waged by so many in the relentless quest for justice and dignity in that one country.

This is undoubtedly the dawn of a new era for the black majority, who have languished for nearly 300 years in miserable wages, decrepit housing, and poverty. Understandably, President Mandela has made the basic needs of the majority the first item on his agenda, recognizing that the dreams of a people cannot be realized without electricity, clean water, sewers, or paved streets.

The United Nations can be justly proud of the role it has played in bringing this transformation about. By galvanizing and directing unprecedentedly intense, and relentless international pressure on the apartheid regime over the last three decades, and with the possibilities

which opened up with the demise of the cold war, the international community has succeeded in forcing that regime to realize that the "winds of change" had reached gale force.

My delegation must also take this opportunity to express its appreciation for the splendid efforts of our Secretary-General on the whole matter of South Africa, and the untiring efforts as well of his Special Representative, Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi. We should also pay tribute to the many members of UNOMSA, the other international observers, the non-governmental organizations and those who worked long and hard to realize the historic changes in South Africa.

In line with political developments in South Africa, notably the emplacement of its first democratically elected, non-racial Government on 10 May, my delegation fully supports the draft resolution before us that seeks to terminate the mandatory arms embargo imposed against South Africa under resolution 418 (1977). Inasmuch as this brings to a virtual close the United Nations monitoring of South Africa, we also agree with the dissolution of the Committee of the Security Council established under resolution 421 (1977).

After long isolation because of its apartheid policies, the new South Africa can look forward to a deeper involvement in Africa, the third world, and international affairs. The road will be long and probably difficult, but as with any journey, it must begin with the first step. South Africa has, by any measure, taken a giant leap forward for its future. The best proof that it will be a most interesting country lies perhaps in President Mandela's inaugural speech, in which he says: "We the people of South Africa feel fulfilled that humanity has taken us back into its bosom." That feeling of fulfilment, says Nobel Laureate Archbishop Desmond Tutu, is like 'falling in love'.

The President: I thank the representative of Djibouti for the kind sentiments he expressed with regard to my country and for his generous tributes to all concerned.

Mr. Al-Khussaiby (Oman): Mr. President, my delegation is very happy to see you the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Nigeria here today presiding over this important Security Council meeting concerning the situation in South Africa. It is a great honour to the Council and to my delegation.

The Omani historic and cultural ties with the African coastal areas date back centuries ago during which the Omani culture was evident in various parts of the African continent and played a positive role in enriching the cultural and social aspects in many parts of Africa, including the South Africa of that time. My delegation has participated in the concerted efforts of all the members of the Council that led to the adoption of resolution 894 (1994), which states, among other things, the Council's concurrence in the Secretary-General's proposal concerning the mandate and the size of UNOMSA and urging all the parties to abide by the agreements reached during the negotiations, as well as to observe democratic principles and to participate in the elections.

The first non-racial presidential election held in South Africa three weeks ago can rightly be described as a turning-point in the history of that country. The peaceful transition of power in South Africa was a triumph not only for His Excellency Mr. Mandela and the then oppressed majority, but also to the international community and the United Nations, which has worked for decades towards a free, democratic and non-racial south Africa.

My country was represented by a high-level delegation at the inauguration of Mr. Nelson Mandela and today we are extremely delighted and very much honoured to see that the new South Africa is represented here by its First Executive Deputy President, Mr. Thabo Mbeki, to mark this historic occasion.

We would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the people and the new Government of South Africa on this historic achievement and wish them a better, prosperous, fraternal and peaceful future. We would also like to seize this opportunity to commend the wise leadership of Mr. Nelson Mandela which is reflected in the formation of a national coalition Government, in keeping with the contribution and brave decisions made by Mr. de Klerk with a view to pursuing an equitable approach to the exercise of power and authority in South Africa.

In response to Mr. Mandela's call on 24 September 1993, the General Assembly unanimously adopted resolution 48/1, which called for the lifting of the economic sanctions imposed on South Africa after they had lost their *raison d'être*.

The significance of the draft resolution under discussion lies not only in the fact that it terminates the mandatory arms embargo imposed on South Africa by Security Council resolution 418 (1977) and by other subsequent resolutions. The resolution also opens a new page in South Africa's relations with the rest of the world and will further facilitate the country's resumption of its rightful place among the family of nations, as pointed out in President Mandela's letter dated 18 May 1994.

In the light of the above, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution under discussion.

The President: I thank the representative of Oman for his statement and for his kind words.

Mr. Bizimana (Rwanda) (interpretation from French): Mr. President, I should like to reiterate my delegation's warm welcome to you, along with our gratitude for the interest your country has always accorded to the question the Council is considering today under your active and dynamic leadership.

As the Security Council is today considering the item of the agenda devoted to the question of South Africa, I should like to express my delegation's sincere congratulations to the Government and people of South Africa on the conclusion of their country's first democratic and multi-party elections.

The delegation of Rwanda would like to pay particular tribute to Mr. Nelson Mandela on his election to the presidency of the South African Republic.

We also take this opportunity to welcome most warmly the presence among us of Mr. Thabo Mbeki, First Executive Deputy President of South Africa. We wish to convey to him our deep gratitude for the solidarity he has expressed with the people of Rwanda during the tragic times they are currently enduring.

My delegation would also like to pay tribute to the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) for their constant efforts towards the total elimination of the apartheid system.

In this context, we should like to thank all the countries and international organizations which furnished electoral observers whose presence contributed to the smooth carrying out of the electoral process and served to curtail political violence during the electoral period. Our gratitude also goes to the many organizations and entities

that have played an important role in bringing about the change in South Africa.

We share the conviction that the holding of free and regular elections last month in South Africa was an historic event which made it possible to put an end to apartheid. Therefore, the international sanctions that have been imposed on South Africa must be removed. We also believe it fitting that South Africa should immediately resume its rightful place in the concert of nations.

The lifting of the compulsory embargo on weapons and other measures against South Africa is imperative in view of the new situation which makes it possible to eliminate the stigma the relevant Security Council resolutions had imposed on South Africa.

This event is particularly significant since it coincides with the commemoration today of the Africa Day.

Since the measures and restrictions imposed upon South Africa have led to the dismantling of apartheid and the transition to a non-racial democracy in that country, my delegation will join the members of the Council in adopting the draft resolution before us today.

We believe that with the lifting of these restrictions, South Africa will be called upon to play an important role in the future of southern Africa in particular and Africa in general.

The delegation of Rwanda remains convinced that the consolidation of democracy in South Africa requires a commitment by the international community to the sustained economic growth of that country.

We invite the international community to assist the new Government in every way it can in order to revive the economy and improve the socio-economic conditions of the segments of the South African populations which have been most victimized by the unfairness of the apartheid system.

The success which the international community has achieved through its active determination gives hope to all peoples the world over that now confront the disastrous consequences of horrendous conflicts. May this victory celebrated by the international community generate greater impetus and concern in confronting the human tragedy that has befallen Rwanda.

The President: I thank the representative of Rwanda for his statement and for his kind words.

Mr. Li Zhaoxing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): First of all, the Chinese delegation would like to express its satisfaction and gratitude, Sir, at seeing you preside over today's formal meeting of the Security Council. Coming, as you do, from a great country that is part of a continent full of vigour and vitality, we are confident that under the guidance of your rich diplomatic experience and wisdom this meeting will be recorded as an important and successful one in the annals of the United Nations.

On behalf of the Chinese delegation, I would like to join my colleagues in welcoming Mr. Thabo Mbeki, First Executive Deputy President of South Africa, to our meeting. I also wish to thank His Excellency for the important statement he made earlier in the meeting.

Today the Security Council will adopt a resolution on the lifting of the arms embargo and other restrictions against South Africa. We have also learned that the Organization of African Unity (OAU) has already admitted South Africa as a member. These developments attest to the fact that a new, united, democratic and non-racial South Africa is standing proudly among the nations of the international community. This new nation is bound to have major impact on peace and stability in the region and the world as a whole.

The successful conclusion of the general elections; the assumption of office by the newly elected President, Mr. Nelson Mandela, on 10 May; the termination of apartheid rule in South Africa; and the creation of a new South Africa in which all ethnic groups coexist in equality and harmony constitute a historic milestone in the cause of liberation of the South African people. This victory has not only helped the South Africans to free themselves from the shackles of apartheid but has also made magnificent contributions to the cause of eliminating racism in civilized society. The Chinese Government and people heartily rejoice at this historic victory achieved by the South African people.

In recent years, with the help of the international community and through the protracted efforts of the South African people, the situation in South Africa has undergone a number of positive changes. Leaders of various South African parties, with their statesmen's poise and courage, have contributed remarkably to the endeavour of the South African people to build a country of unity, democracy and

racial equality, thus receiving support from the entire South African people.

China, as a permanent member of the Security Council, has always sympathized with and supported the South African people in its just struggle to combat apartheid and win racial equality and democratic rights; we have constantly upheld the peace process in South Africa. We stand ready to develop friendly relations of cooperation with the new South Africa in all areas on the basis of the United Nations Charter and of the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

The key to the successful political transformation of South Africa lies in the South African people itself. This historic development shows once again that, in the final analysis, the affairs of a country should be handled by its people, and the affairs of a region by the countries and peoples of that region. As long as all parties show sincerity and political will, there is hope for resolving any contradictions and conflicts through dialogue and negotiation. We sincerely hope that, under the leadership of the new South African Government, the South African people will unite as one and make continued, concerted and unswerving efforts to create a South Africa of peace, stability and economic prosperity.

The President: I thank the representative of China for his kind remarks addressed to my country.

Mr. Vorontsov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): First of all, I should like sincerely to welcome the participation of the First Executive Deputy President of South Africa, Mr. Thabo Mbeki, in this truly historic meeting of the Security Council, which opens a new chapter in restoring the full-fledged participation of his new democratic country in the life of the international community.

I am also particularly happy to work in the Security Council today, on Africa Day, under the presidency of His Excellency the Foreign Minister of Nigeria, that great African country.

The Russian Federation is extremely pleased at the prompt and positive reaction of the Security Council to the appeal made by the President of the Republic of South Africa, Mr. Nelson Mandela, to abrogate the sanctions decreed by the Security Council some time ago against the Republic of South Africa and to cease the activities of the Special Committee of the Security Council, which has fulfilled its task, having played an

increasingly important role in the international community's efforts to dismantle the apartheid system.

The Russian delegation will support the adoption by the Security Council of the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/610, since it fully corresponds to the task of assisting in the speedy reintegration of the new democratic South African Republic into the international community, and will give strong impetus to the active involvement of that country in international cooperation and the restoration of its full participation in international life.

It is significant that this important political event should take place on a Day dedicated to Africa, whose peoples and countries, on the strength of consistent support by the international community in general, and of the United Nations and the Security Council in particular, made a substantial contribution to doing away with the apartheid system, and to the restoration of racial and social justice in South Africa in the fight for the triumph of the principles of democracy and human values.

Today, on Africa Day, addressing himself to the Heads of Government and to the countries of the whole of Africa, the President of Russia, Boris Yeltsin, stressed that:

"A most important event in the life of Africa is the conclusion of the South African situation and South Africa's transition to a full democratic existence."

Today we can note with satisfaction that the goals that we strove to attain for decades have been reached. A historic event has occurred with the general elections that turned the country towards democracy. Russia, which has always supported all constructive efforts by the Governments, parties and public organizations of South Africa towards democratic change, shares with all countries a feeling of deep satisfaction at the results of these efforts. We believe that the people of South Africa is facing bright prospects for harmonious economic and social development. Much will depend upon the readiness of all political forces of the country to engage in constructive interaction such as the one that was evinced in the pre-electoral period.

The present task of the international community, in our opinion, is to do everything to facilitate the speediest return of the democratic Republic of South Africa to the world family of peoples, to eliminate still-existing obstacles and help it to involve itself actively in the work of organizations of the United Nations system.

Russia reaffirms its readiness to continue its active cooperation with other countries in evolving the necessary documents which would be fully consonant with these important tasks and the scope of the positive changes that have occurred in South Africa.

The President: I thank the representative of the Russian Federation for his sentiments.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): Mr. President, it is a matter of great satisfaction for the delegation of Brazil to see you, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Nigeria, personally presiding over this historic meeting of the Security Council, especially as it coincides with Africa Day.

The Security Council meets today in order to deliberate the elimination of restrictions that were imposed on the former regime of South Africa. The delegation of Brazil fully supports the draft resolution before us.

We are gathered to confirm the support of the international community for the strides in the journey ahead of the South African people in its valiant efforts to rebuild the country on a united, democratic and non-racial basis. South Africa is now a country where everyone is entitled to exercise full citizenship.

For too many years, the situation in South Africa has been under international scrutiny, but what in the past seemed to be a faraway goal, hardly supposed to be reached, has now come true. The long-suffering people of South Africa has won. Its most legitimate claim for equal rights and the opportunity to be treated equally has finally been heard.

It gives me great pleasure to welcome to this meeting Mr. Thabo Mbeki, First Executive Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa. His presence among us here today is a definite assurance that South Africa has at last entered the new phase of its history. We thank him for his statement and thought-provoking remarks.

Apartheid and social and racial violence in South Africa have always posed a threat to peace and security. Brazil has hence favoured the deep involvement of the Security Council in the promotion of a peaceful settlement of internal disputes in South Africa. Time and again, in this forum and in other forums of the United Nations, we have dealt with the problems generated by

the evil of apartheid. Today, after the triumph of the cause of freedom and equality in South Africa, we salute a landmark victory of democracy and hope. A new era is indeed dawning for the region and the continent. In this sense, we particularly welcome the decision of the new South African Government to contribute to the international efforts in search of peace in Angola and Mozambique.

This is a bright and joyful moment. As in any complex political process, the building of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa has taken a very long time and has been delayed in various instances. Not all past moments in this struggle have been positive and many steps forward were followed by some movement backwards. As a long-time supporter of the efforts leading to the construction of the multi-racial South Africa, Brazil has saluted the birth of democracy in South Africa. This could not have been achieved without the inspiration of President Nelson Mandela, a man of destiny, courage and action. My Government has expressed its commitment to strengthening our ties with the new South Africa and has reiterated its readiness to contribute to the huge tasks lying ahead in that country's reconstruction efforts.

President Mandela's statesmanship is a source of inspiration to us all. His ability to negotiate and overcome hurdles during the entire transition period was indeed remarkable. His lack of bitterness and his forward-looking approach have been fundamental in ensuring the dismantling of apartheid. We also acknowledge the positive role played by Mr. De Klerk in the political process in South Africa.

The free and fair elections just held in that country show that, despite decades of political oppression, the South African people was able to choose a most worthy leadership. For a long time, many men and women have endured terrible hardship so that this reality could come true. The wise and courageous people of South Africa was the main protagonist in this true odyssey. I wish at this moment to pay tribute to those many unsung South African heroes and victims of apartheid who gave their lives to make this new era a reality.

The United Nations and its membership deserve their share of the praise too. The past initiatives of this main organ of the United Nations against the former Government of South Africa, which we are now scratching from the books, contributed to paving the way to the new South Africa.

This is one of those very few occasions when all of us feel gratified. Yet we should not lose sight of the fact that if, today, the international community can rejoice, this is also a direct result of its firm, active, decisive and unabated commitment to the cause of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa for an extended period of time. Today's achievement should inspire the Council on forthcoming actions in the subregion.

On this occasion, when we are privileged to witness the birth of a democratic country, Brazil, as a South Atlantic neighbour of South Africa's, looks forward to the moment when South Africa will take its place in the partnership of the countries of the Zone of Peace and Cooperation in the South Atlantic. We also look forward to the expeditious reintegration of South Africa into the international community and its full-fledged participation in all international forums, particularly in the United Nations system. Let us hope that the conclusion of South Africa's successful and peaceful transition to democracy will make its positive effects felt in other situations on the agenda of the United Nations.

The President: I thank the representative of Brazil for his kind words addressed to me.

I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/610.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 919 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Sir David Hannay (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland): It is a privilege for us that our meeting today is presided over by you, Sir, the Foreign Minister of the country holding the presidency of the Council. No country, I think, could more fittingly be presiding over this occasion, since the efforts of successive Governments in Nigeria to bring about the

situation we are now in has been a feature of international life for many years. I would not like to let the occasion pass without also thanking Ambassador Gambari for the work he did as Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid.

I should like to begin by welcoming the First Executive Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa and his delegation to the Security Council on this historic occasion. He is no stranger to us here at the United Nations nor, indeed, to my own Government, which has greatly valued the moderate and constructive role he played in the difficult period through which his country and all of us have passed. But we are delighted that he is here now as a representative of the freely and fairly elected Government of a new South Africa.

The lifting of the arms embargo imposed by resolution 418 (1977) and related measures provided for in other Council resolutions represents the formal and symbolic acknowledgement by this Council that apartheid is dead and that South Africa's isolation has come to an end. The resolution we have just adopted may be technical in its content, the final stage of the process of ending the measures imposed against South Africa by the United Nations, but it represents the culmination of an astonishing political transformation which few predicted in this time-scale. The adoption of this resolution provides us with a first opportunity at the United Nations to celebrate the opening of a new and long-awaited chapter in the history of South Africa, an opportunity which we must now seize and to which we must give substantive content.

The United Nations can be proud of the role that it played in providing observers for the first multi-party democratic elections in South Africa and in helping to control and mitigate the tide of political violence. British observers participated in these United Nations and in other international efforts to support and validate the election process, and we were delighted to do so. Such efforts were a further tangible demonstration of the commitment of the international community to support and assist the development of democracy in South Africa. But in the final analysis, the elections were a triumph for the people of South Africa, whose long struggle and whole-hearted commitment to democracy has won them the admiration of the whole world.

So a great new democracy is born, one with which my country has particularly close ties. It will now take its place in the community of nations. The road ahead will not always be easy. The challenges that will arise must be

tackled by South Africans. Economic growth and stability must be given the highest priority, and in that context we warmly welcome President Mandela's statement yesterday of his Government's economic and other programmes.

The international community must demonstrate its support and encouragement for the new Government and its policies, not just by lifting any remaining restrictions, but also by helping to encourage investment, by providing technical assistance and by offering open and liberal trading arrangements. The British Government is doing all these things, and we intend to go on doing so. And, as the representative of Greece has pointed out, so will the European Union.

The resolution we have just adopted refers to the urgent need to facilitate the reintegration of South Africa into the international community, including into the United Nations system. We look forward to the new South Africa's resuming its seat in the General Assembly as quickly as possible.

My Government believes that the question of the arrears owed by South Africa to the United Nations, which has still to be discussed, should not prevent it from taking its rightful place in this Organization and from exercising its right to vote. Article 19 of the Charter of the United Nations provides for the General Assembly to permit a Member State in arrears to vote if it is satisfied that the problem arose from conditions beyond the control of the Member in question. We believe that South Africa should benefit from that provision.

Few subjects have been more often raised in the Security Council over many years than the question of South Africa. I can think of no better wish to offer the new South Africa than that it should never figure again on the agenda of the Security Council.

The President: I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for his generous recognition of my country's contribution to the subject under discussion.

Mr. Méricée (France) (*interpretation from French*): My Government welcomes the recent events in South Africa that have led to this meeting of the Security Council in circumstances that we can describe without exaggeration as historic. Indeed, it is Africa's day, and it is also the day when the Security Council has lifted the sanctions it imposed on South Africa almost 20 years ago. Today's resolution has been adopted in the presence

of the First Executive Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa, whom we are pleased to welcome here. Finally, the Council enjoys the privilege of being presided over by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Nigeria. In truth, it would be difficult to gather together in one place more symbols than those we have here.

Following the first multiracial elections held in South Africa, in April 1994, that country was able, on 10 May, to inaugurate a united, democratic and non-racial Government. My delegation warmly welcomes President Nelson Mandela's election to lead South Africa, for he has devoted his life to the abolition of the odious regime of apartheid and his very existence to the establishment of a multiracial democracy, of which South Africa is now an example for the whole world.

France also wishes to praise the efforts of former President De Klerk to promote this turn of events which only a few years ago seemed highly improbable.

By lifting the sanctions that the Council placed on South Africa long ago, the United Nations is entering a decisive and symbolic stage on the way to that country's full reintegration into the international community. We hope that South Africa will very quickly recover its place in the family of nations and, more particularly, in Africa. It has already become the fifty-third member of the Organization of African Unity.

Finally, our Council is also showing today that it is able to respond to the political evolution of certain situations by putting an end to sanctions when circumstances permit.

France, for its part, will continue to give the people of South Africa its full cooperation in assuring their country of stability and development so that democracy and progress can take a firm and lasting hold in southern Africa.

The President: I thank the representative of France for the very kind sentiments he expressed.

Mr. Gnehm (United States of America): May I begin by warmly welcoming the attendance of the First Executive Deputy President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki. It is indeed an honour for us all that he and his delegation could be with us today, a day that is indeed historic.

Today's vote in the Security Council is timely recognition of the dramatic changes that have taken place

in South Africa, changes that this Organization helped bring about. The United Nations arms embargoes and related restrictions imposed by this body against South Africa contributed significantly to the demise of apartheid. Now that apartheid has been dismantled and non-racial democracy is taking root, these restrictions are simply no longer appropriate. My Government strongly and unequivocally supports this resolution, which calls for their immediate removal.

South Africa's first non-racial election, last month, and the inauguration of President Mandela on 10 May capped that nation's successful struggle against apartheid and opened the way for South Africa to join the family of democracies. This resolution is an important step to bring South Africa into the fold of the community of democratic nations. We hope to see South Africa play a leading role - through the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations - in promoting peace and stability in its region and its continent.

This is an historic moment in the United Nations relationship with South Africa. The international community and the people of South Africa are united in the goal of ensuring that South Africa becomes an active and positive member of the community of democratic States. The United States joins the United Nations in celebrating this great achievement.

Mr. Keating (New Zealand): May I first extend to you personally, Mr. President, a very warm welcome. Nigeria has played a very important role in the United Nations and in the Commonwealth on the question of South Africa. Ambassador Gambari, in his role as Chairman of the Special Committee, has made a significant personal contribution. It is therefore very fitting that the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Nigeria is presiding over the Council on this very auspicious day.

It gives me and my country very great pleasure to be able to participate in the adoption of the resolution which was adopted today in response to the letter of Mr. Nelson Mandela, the first democratically elected President of the new South Africa.

We also particularly welcome the presence here today of Mr. Thabo Mbeki, First Executive Deputy President of South Africa, who played such a prominent part in the struggle of South Africa's people for freedom.

The resolution we have just adopted is essentially a technical one, but its adoption has two very important

political messages. Most important, the resolution culminates and symbolizes the achievement of a long-hoped-for but none the less extraordinary event - namely, the achievement of a genuinely united, democratic, non-racial Government for South Africa.

Secondly, its adoption demonstrates that the Council is ready to act quickly to lift sanctions imposed against a country once the purpose of the sanctions has been fulfilled. While it is regrettable that the Council has had more occasion to impose sanctions than to lift them, today's vote shows that the Council will not keep sanctions in place any longer than they are necessary.

New Zealand wishes to congratulate the Government and people of South Africa on the remarkable and generally peaceful manner in which they were able to make the transition from the cruel and divisive regime of apartheid to a united, democratic and non-racial country. That last month's elections proceeded so smoothly and were so successful is a testament to the patience, fortitude and good sense of all South Africans.

My country has much in common with South Africa. We are both countries of the southern hemisphere with economies which are heavily dependent on agriculture for our well-being. We know that, even with the mineral wealth with which South Africa has been blessed, it will be no easy task for the new Government to correct the social and economic injustices of the past while maintaining the country on a sound financial footing. We wish the new Government every encouragement as they embark on this important endeavour.

Internationally, we welcome South Africa into the fold of free and democratic countries. Its size, location and history guarantee that South Africa will play an extremely important role in Africa and in the wider international community, particularly here in the United Nations. We look forward to working constructively with South Africa in pursuit of our common objectives.

The President: I thank the representative of New Zealand for his very kind sentiments.

Mr. Kovanda (Czech Republic): My delegation congratulates Nigeria on having seen fit to have you personally, Sir, preside over this particular meeting of the Security Council with this particular agenda, though I assure you that we equally enjoy seeing our good friend Ambassador Gambari in the chair.

Sitting at the table with the First Executive Deputy President, Mr. Thabo Mbeki, is a particular honour and pleasure, and my delegation subscribes to the warm welcome you, Mr. President, extended to him on behalf of the Council.

Apartheid has fallen, and history will judge who played what role in bringing about its demise. In our estimation, the people of South Africa themselves played the critical part, and we pay homage to those who lost their lives in the process. The leaders of South Africa played their important part, and we salute the perseverance, steadfastness and patience of President Nelson Mandela, as well as the courage and determination of Deputy President Frederik de Klerk. And we, the family of nations, played our own modest role in ostracizing the regime of apartheid and imposing sanctions on it, thereby driving it into an isolated corner reserved for pariahs of the world community.

Today we are witnessing a new South Africa emerging. For most of its population, it represents the dawn of democracy. This is an experience which people of my country can relate to very well, having themselves brought about a democratic transformation less than five years ago. In our experience, we have found that guarantees of democracy include a free press, a market economy, respect for private property and initiative and a civic society - a society of citizens.

This, too, is the direction in which we sense South Africa is heading: the emergence of a society based on citizenship, not on one's mother tongue, not on one's tribal affiliation, least of all based on one's skin colour.

The Czech Republic, and Czechoslovakia before it, has always supported the struggle of the people of South Africa for a free, multiracial society. We are honoured to have been able to vote today to remove one of the last shackles barring the Republic of South Africa from joining the family of nations as a fully fledged emancipated member. We look forward to completing this process later this year in the General Assembly.

The President: I thank the representative of the Czech Republic, and assure him that he will continue to enjoy the company of the Permanent Representative of Nigeria in this chair, effective tomorrow.

Mr. Yañez Barnuevo (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): The delegation of Spain is very gratified to have you, Sir, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Nigeria,

presiding over our work today. There could be nothing more appropriate on a day such as this than your presence, as an outstanding representative of Nigeria, a country that has distinguished itself in all the international action that has led to the result that we celebrate today. In this context, the work of Ambassador Gambari, as Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, has been particularly effective.

I should like first of all to associate myself with the words of welcome extended to the First Executive Deputy President of South Africa who is here with us today, representing and embodying the new South Africa.

The historic decision just adopted by the Council on a date as significant as Africa Day opens the door to the full assumption by South Africa of its proper role in the community of nations. For this reason, we are particularly pleased to have Mr. Thabo Mbeki here with us and to have heard his important message to us. We were also touched by the testimony of a person as distinguished in the struggle against apartheid as Mr. Abdul Minty.

With resolution 919 (1994), the Security Council has brought to an end the mandatory arms embargo imposed on South Africa by resolution 418 (1977). It has also decided to terminate forthwith all other restrictive measures contained in other resolutions of the Security Council, some of which date back to 1963. This entire series of decisions shows the importance the Security Council has attached for many years now, prompted by its African members, to facing up to the challenge presented by the apartheid regime to the international order.

The dismantling of the sanctions regime established by the United Nations against South Africa, stimulated by Mr. Nelson Mandela's historic statement to the Special Committee against Apartheid on 24 September 1993, and initiated by General Assembly resolution 48/1 of 8 October 1993, has culminated with the resolution that we have adopted today.

It is not often that the Security Council decides to lift a sanctions regime. It is always a source of gratification, because it demonstrates that the objectives sought by the international community in imposing these special measures have at last been attained.

My delegation is happy to be participating, together with all the other members of the Council, in this important decision, as a response to the end of the policy of apartheid, which kept the majority of the population of

South Africa in squalor, and which trampled underfoot the principle of the equality of all persons and all races. Spain supported the imposition of sanctions when they were adopted, and voted for Security Council resolution 282 (1970), because it considered that the apartheid regime in South Africa violated, in its very essence, the most fundamental human values and that it constituted a threat to international peace and security.

The pressures that the international community brought to bear and its condemnation of apartheid, together with the efforts of the people of South Africa, made South Africa radically change its policy and brought about a period of transition, which, with all its difficulties, must be described as exemplary, because of the vision of the future it involved and because of the stature of the main protagonists, Mr. Nelson Mandela and Mr. de Klerk, who were able to place the interests of the entire population above their different positions. The United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) efficiently discharged its mandate of contributing to peace and monitoring the electoral process, in accordance with democratic principles. Spain is proud to have participated with 50 observers in European Union and United Nations missions.

The first multi-racial, multi-party elections, held in South Africa from 26 to 28 April, and the establishment of a united Government, democratic and without racial distinctions, which was inaugurated on 10 May, are irrefutable proof that the South African people have, with great integrity and maturity, taken the reigns of their own destiny, thus winning the admiration of the whole world. We hope that these elections will be the basis for the construction of a future of prosperity in peace and freedom, from which no South African will feel excluded, which we are confident will constitute an invaluable contribution to the stability and progress of southern Africa and the whole African continent.

Aware that we face a new reality in South Africa, Spain shares the firm determination already expressed by the European Union to continue to support the efforts of the new Government to obtain the objective of leading the country towards a democratic, non-racial society in which respect for human rights, both individual and collective, prevails, together with the state of law, the promotion of social justice and the elimination of all forms of discrimination. In this respect, I recall the ministerial decision of the European Union of 19 April this year by which the European Union pledges to take a number of immediate measures to help South Africa in the stage that

is now beginning. Those measures include important aspects of trade and development cooperation and the beginning of what we hope will be a fruitful political dialogue. Spain is resolved to deepen its relationship with the new South Africa, as shown by the fact that the Spanish delegation that attended the inauguration of the new President, Mr. Nelson Mandela, on 10 May was headed by His Royal Highness the Prince of Asturias, heir to the Spanish throne.

While South Africa's future depends more than ever on the South Africans themselves, the international community has a duty to help South Africa to promote the establishment and development of a new country which should be an example to southern Africa and the rest of the continent of what harmony, loyalty and democratic principles can achieve.

The President: I thank the representative of Spain for his kind words addressed to me and the Permanent Representative of Nigeria.

Mrs. Cañas (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Argentina wishes to say, Sir, how pleased it is to see you presiding over this historic meeting of the Security Council. We are also very pleased to have with us the First Executive Deputy President of South Africa, Mr. Thabo Mbeki, whom we thank for his important message.

It is not often that the Security Council has the pleasure of adopting a resolution of the type that we have just adopted. The lifting of the mandatory arms embargo and other restrictions against South Africa ends our dealing with a question that the Council first considered in 1960 and marks the culmination of a process whose main protagonist was the people of South Africa, a process benefiting the entire international community.

Our delegation commends the achievements made, in a framework of prudence and moderation, by all the people of South Africa in their struggle for their basic rights and fundamental freedoms and in their efforts to eradicate apartheid and establish a democratic, united, non-racial nation. We also recognize the firm and constant support given to the people of South Africa by the Member States of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and many non-governmental organizations.

The Argentine Republic joined the international community in its struggle against apartheid and expressed its constant repudiation of that regime. In the framework

of that policy, and as a contribution to that struggle, in May 1986 my country broke off diplomatic relations with South Africa. It resumed them in August 1991 in order to highlight the encouragement it wanted to give to the process of the transformation taking place in that country. We are particularly delighted to see the emergence of a new South Africa, a nation with which we are linked geographically through the South Atlantic.

The successful culmination of this process does not prevent our recalling the difficult path that had to be followed, as well as the many lives lost along the way. We pay tribute to those who lost their lives. That history makes all the more significant the commendable tolerance and generosity demonstrated by the political leaders who in 1991 embarked on the irreversible course that led their people to a democratic South Africa. The same high-mindedness and magnanimity will be needed in the new stage that South Africa is now beginning.

All the conditions exist for success, but the after effects of a discriminatory and racist system, which South Africa has just given up, will be hard to eliminate completely. This transformation, reflected in legal and government structures, must also be complemented in the economic and social spheres and in the very mentality of the entire South African people, which for this purpose will have to redouble its efforts and work together in harmony. In this respect, we emphasize the urgent need to complete the process of South Africa's total reintegration into the international community, including the United Nations system, so that it may as quickly as possible take its rightful place and thus make its contribution. In particular, we hope that we shall soon have the active participation of South Africa in the zone of peace and cooperation of the South Atlantic.

Before concluding, I should like to wish President Nelson Mandela, his Government and all the people of South Africa a promising future, a future of peace, and to tell them that they can rely on the friendship and cooperation of the Government and people of my country.

The President: I thank the representative of Argentina for the kind sentiments she expressed.

Mr. Marker (Pakistan): It is a great honour and pleasure, Sir, for my delegation to greet you today, Africa Day, and to convey our sincerest congratulations on your presiding over the deliberations at this important meeting, of the Security Council, important both in terms

of symbol and substance. Not only are you the Foreign Minister of a great country with which Pakistan has the closest and most brotherly relations, but we also had the honour of your presence in my country as Ambassador of Nigeria in Pakistan, where you made a wide array of friends and where your skilful diplomacy left memories as impressive as they are lasting.

My delegation also wishes to extend a warm welcome to the Honourable Mr. Thabo Mbeki, the First Executive Deputy President of South Africa, who is no stranger to us. We know him as a valiant freedom fighter, so it was a particular pleasure to greet him today as the distinguished representative of his country and listen to his very thought-provoking statement.

The resolution just adopted by us represents the final step in the dismantlement of the wide-ranging sanctions imposed against South Africa. It also signals the recognition of the reality of a brave new South Africa free of the odious policy of apartheid and its many abhorrent implications. The United Nations itself can rightly claim satisfaction to the outcome of its prolonged and determined effort to combat apartheid and to bring to fruition the historic result we have witnessed today.

It is also a happy coincidence that the important decision the Security Council has just formalized through resolution 919 (1994) has been taken during the presidency of Nigeria, a country that has been in the forefront against the struggle against apartheid. In this context, the personal role and contribution of Ambassador Gambari as Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid has been crucial and is responsible in large measure for the positive elements that led to the passage of resolution 919 (1994).

The Security Council Committee established through resolution 421 (1997) to oversee the implementation of the arms embargo imposed against South Africa has been the longest serving sanctions committee of the Council. As a result of our decision today in the wake of the latest positive developments in South Africa, this Committee has become a part of history. Having served as its Chairman since 1993 my feeling of satisfaction at this moment in the sense of a task well accomplished is more than academic. Today's Security Council resolution also represents another important landmark in the gradual journey of South Africa to join the comity of civilized nations. The transition of South Africa from a society governed by the abhorrent practice of apartheid to a democratic and egalitarian polity has been both tortuous and bloody. It is therefore just and appropriate that we should reiterate our special tribute to

the sagacity and vision of the South African leaders, particularly Mr. Nelson Mandela and Mr. F. W. de Klerk, who have contributed the most in bringing their country to the exhilarating sense of national unity which we witnessed so recently.

The assumption of the office of President by Mr. Nelson Mandela earlier this month, after the first fully democratic elections last month, indeed signifies a triumph of the human spirit. The new Government of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa has already settled down to dealing with the colossal tasks that still lie ahead. As a result of almost 350 years of colonialism, exploitation and apartheid, South Africa had for some time been the most unequalled society in the world. According to one estimate, South Africa's whites, who represent 13 per cent of the country's population, owned 86 per cent of its land and more than 90 per cent of its wealth. Compared to this, almost half of South Africa's 30 million blacks were unemployed. There are many other statistical comparisons available to show the chasm that divides the whites and the blacks in South Africa.

It is our earnest hope that the new South African leadership will continue to exhibit the same determination, skill and statesmanship in addressing the problems of a unified South Africa as it has done in the transition phase so far. In this endeavour the Government and the people of South Africa need not only the moral and political support of the world at large but also material assistance. We are confident that there will be no dearth of either.

May I also take this opportunity to place on record my appreciation and gratitude to all those who facilitated the work of the 421 Committee, as the South Africa Sanctions Committee had come to be known. In this regard, I should like to mention in particular the Secretariat officials who serviced the Committee over so many years with such dedication and diligence. I also wish to thank the delegations concerned for their understanding and cooperation during the few meetings I was privileged to chair. Last but not least, I should like to pay a special tribute to Mr. Minty, whose research and enthusiasm provided the main workload for the Committee.

The President: I thank the representative of Pakistan for his very generous personal tribute.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Nigeria.

The adoption today of a resolution lifting the mandatory arms embargo and related measures imposed by this Council against the Republic of South Africa brings to an end the series of measures imposed on a pariah regime which, from any perspective, was ill-suited and had no moral justification to chart the destiny of all its people. The installation on 10 May of a democratic Government of a united, non-racial South Africa has closed this tragic chapter on South Africa's dark past. My delegation therefore commends the speed and efficiency with which the Council has acted upon the request of President Nelson Mandela for the lifting of these sanctions. It is indeed significant that the Council met today, on Africa Day, to adopt this historic resolution. Of double significance is the fact that it is today that South Africa became the 53rd member of the Organization of African Unity.

By the lifting of these sanctions, South Africa, a country which once again stands ready to assume its rightful pride of place in the comity of nations, will be able to engage in fruitful cooperation with interested States in the fields of science and technology for development. Whereas the international community has noted with appreciation the assurance given at the beginning of this debate by the First Executive Deputy President of South Africa, His Excellency, Mr. Thabo Mbeki that South Africa will not view the lifting of the embargo as an opportunity to worsen the condition of an already over-armed continent, it is none the less important that these sanctions are lifted to enable the country to decide for itself what economic diversification options it wishes to pursue.

Related to the lifting of the mandatory arms embargo is the dissolution of the relevant Committee of the Security Council established in accordance with rule 28 of its provisional rules of procedure, a Committee whose duty and responsibility it had been to monitor the application and observance by Member States of these sanctions. I would like to place on record my Government's appreciation of the manner in which the Committee performed its duties. Indeed, the Committee did play an additional contributory role in hastening the demise of apartheid and paving the way for the emergence of a united, non-racial, and democratic South Africa.

As South Africa reintegrates itself in the international community, my Government is especially delighted to have been associated over the years with the evolutionary

process as well as the historic campaign against the obnoxious policy of apartheid designed to perpetuate the subjugation of the majority by the minority in South Africa. In the course of that struggle - and, indeed, as so generously acknowledged by several speakers here today - successive Nigerian Governments and successive generations of the Nigerian people had considered no sacrifice too great nor effort too little as their contribution to the international effort to hasten the end of oppression and injustice which apartheid represented.

In this process, Nigeria had the privilege to participate in and often lead the struggle to bring additional international pressure to bear on the apartheid regime in South Africa. For over two decades Nigeria was honoured to chair the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, whose contributions were critical to the process of change in South Africa.

May I say, in conclusion, that my delegation welcomes the birth of a new South Africa. It is our great expectation that with the lifting of the mandatory arms embargo today the new Republic of South Africa will take advantage of its management, trade and industrial capacities to mobilize all its people for the larger goals of justice, peace and development. We are confident that South Africa will be a moving force in the development of the economies in the sub-region and in the African continent at large. In this regard, my country stands ready and looks forward to very active and constructive cooperation with South Africa.

I now resume my function as President of the Council.

The First Executive Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa has asked to make a statement, and I now call on him.

Mr. Mbeki (South Africa): I thought it might be appropriate, without taking up too much of the Council's time, to express our thanks for statements by members of the Council and members of the United Nations generally, including statements made today, and for the tributes that have been paid to our President Nelson Mandela, to Deputy President de Klerk and to our people generally for the manner in which they have conducted the process of transition in South Africa.

We shall shortly convey to our leadership and our people the sentiments expressed by this Council and the members of the United Nations. We appreciate very

much the fact that the Council took a unanimous decision on the resolution before it today.

I am grateful, Mr. President, that you referred to the extent to which our continent is overarmed. Indeed, we thought we needed to indicate in our intervention that it certainly was not our intention to play any such role on the African continent, given South Africa's capacity with regards to armament production; it certainly was not our intention to exploit the Council's decision today to worsen a situation on the African continent which does not need worsening, but needs improvement.

I wanted to say "Thank you" for all the kind comments which everybody made, and finally to repeat that we are determined to be a good citizen of the world.

The President: I thank the First Executive Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa for his expression of appreciation addressed to the Council.

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 8.50 p.m.



Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3380th Meeting

 Wednesday, 25 May 1994, 9.05 p.m.
 New York

President:	Mr. Gambari	(Nigeria)
Members:	Argentina	Mrs. Cañas
	Brazil	Mr. Fujita
	China	Mr. Zhang Yan
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Chireh
	France	Mr. Felix-Paganon
	New Zealand	Ms. Almao
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Shkourko
	Rwanda	Mr. Bizimana
	Spain	Mr. Yañez Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Evans
	United States of America	Mrs. Shestack

Agenda

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
 Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to resolution 913 (1994) (S/1994/600)

The meeting was called to order at 9.05 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to resolution 913 (1994) (S/1994/600)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Misić (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General pursuant to resolution 913 (1994), document S/1994/600.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council has considered the report of the Secretary-General pursuant to its resolution 913 (1994) (S/1994/600).

"The Security Council reiterates the urgent need to intensify efforts towards an overall political settlement of the conflict in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It calls on the parties to resume, without preconditions, serious efforts to reach a political settlement.

"The Security Council reaffirms the urgent need for a comprehensive cessation of hostilities throughout the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this regard, the Security Council supports the decision of the Secretary-General, in accordance with paragraph 1 of resolution 913 (1994), to entrust his Special Representative and the UNPROFOR Force Commander with the task of achieving a comprehensive cessation of hostilities. In this context it welcomes the call for such a cessation of hostilities in the communiqué dated 13 May 1994 of the meeting in Geneva (S/1994/579).

"The Security Council demands immediate and full compliance with its resolution 913 (1994) and in respect of Gorazde calls upon the parties to cooperate fully with UNPROFOR to that end."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1994/26.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 9.10 p.m.